MEMOIRS

OF

STEPHEN BURROUGHS.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

NOTES,

AND AN

APPENDIX.

When such sad scenes the bosom pain,
What eye from weeping can refrain.

VOL. II.

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MEMOIRS

OF

STEPHEN BURROUGHS.

CHAP. I.

"Thus the lorn wretch, by ignis fatuus led,
Pursues the gleam which charms his lonely way:
Nor, till destruction whelms his hapless head,
Suspects the dangers of the treacherous ray."

I WAS determined, when I left Worcester, to quit the country in such a manner as to leave no traces of my route behind. I intended to go to Long-Island, in the State of New-York, and there reside, until I could look about me a little; see what was to be done; and where I could procure a place to move my family.

All the day, following my escape from confinement, I lay in the woods, unknown to any person whatever. At the close of the day, I repaired to a friend, who carried me about ten miles on my way; and, at parting, gave me directions how to pursue my route to the best advantage; informing me where to take a road, not so much frequented, but much nearer than the main road.

At this time I had with me fourteen dollars in cash, one shirt, a pair of breeches, a pair of stockings, boots, waistcoat, and gown; all which I had on. This comprised the whole of my wardrobe, and all the property I had about me.

Not long after leaving my friend, I turned into a road, which I supposed was the one pointed out, and pursued it with diligence, until I came to a pair of bars. The night, by this time, became extremely dark; the

sky being overcast with thick clouds, and the rain beginning to pour down in torrents. I did not suspect my being in the wrong road; but found the way much less frequented than I had expected, from the direction of my friend. I concluded, likewise, that I should meet with more difficulty in following the foot-path, than I had contemplated before the night had become so extremely dark. I got over the bars, however, and pursued my course, until I found myself in the midst of a swamp, composed of brakes, mire, and rocks, without any path to direct me, or knowing what way to extricate myself. I tried to find the way out of this swamp by measuring back my former course. After repeated trials, I found it impossible. The more I attempted to find the way back, the deeper I found myself involved in difficulty. Sometimes I would plunge to my knees in mud; I would then cautiously seek for a rock, and crawl out of my filthy predicament, by its friendly aid: and yet, by taking one incautious step, I was plunged headlong into the mire. With this difficulty I struggled about four hours, when I once more found myself, on dry ground.

How much does our happiness depend on our reasoning with propriety upon the various subjects which offer themselves to our view! When I had again got my foot upon dry ground, I felt exceedingly happy, notwithstanding I was wandering alone through this dreary night, drenched with rain and covered with mud; notwithstanding I had torn one of my boots in such a manner as to let my foot to the ground at every step; and had, likewise, torn my foot almost as bad as my boot.—Thus we may enjoy happiness in the most forlorn situation.

I sought diligently for a path, or some directory by which I might again find the road. I soon found myself in a foot-path, which I pursued until I was led into a large frequented road. I judged that, by this time, I had travelled between twenty and thirty miles, since I had parted from my friend. I expected I was in the state of Connecticut, and far enough from the place of my ac-

quaintance, to travel through the day without being known. I passed by a large house about the breaking of day, which appeared to be a place familiar to my eye; but could not recollect myself so as to determine where I was. I passed on a little further; and, what do you think, Sir, was my astonishment, when I discovered myself in Oxford, (a town adjoining to Worcester) walking, with hasty strides, back to prison; being now four miles nearer Worcester, than I was the preceding evening, when my friend left me.

I immediately turned my course, and left the main road, and made my way towards Douglass-woods, (a wild, barren forest.) As the rain yet continued, without intermission, and the morning, of consequence, was dark, I believe I was not seen by any person. I ran, with the utmost speed, about an hour and a half; and concluded, that, by this time, I had nearly arrived into the State of Rhode-Island; when, again, to my utter astonishment, I was about re-entering the great road which led back to Worcester, near where I had left it, "What," said I to myself, "am I mad? Am I divested of every ray of reason? Am I designed for destruction, and led to it by infatuation?" The truth is, I was so bewildered by my wanderings through the night that I had lost all ability to calculate respecting the points of the compass.

Under these circumstances, the only way I had to pursue, was to take the most open and direct road to Douglass Meeting-House. It was now about 10 o'clock in the morning. The rain had ceased, and the sun broke out from the clouds, and shone very warm, it being now the month of June. Having been without any refreshment through the night preceding, after enduring such a course of fatigue, you will not wonder at my feeling faint and weary, by this time, for the want of food.

After I had travelled some distance in the town of Douglass, I intended to procure some refreshment. This I calculated to obtain at a private house, considering I should be more exposed to be seen and known by the variety of company that might be at a tavern. I therefore called at a small, snug house by the way side.

No sooner had I entered this house, than the man, starting up, exclaimed, "How do you do, Mr. Burroughs?" This salutation very much disconcerted my feelings; which being perceived by the man, he answered, "that I might make myself perfectly easy; that no person should molest me while I tarried at his house; that I might remain there as long as I desired." And without asking whether I was hungry, ordered his wife to get some victuals ready immediately. I was apprehensive that all this seeming kindness was only an intended delusion, with an expectation of procuring help to carry me back to Worcester; and more especially after he told me he was going on my way about four miles. My suspicion was so strong against him that I intended, the first opportunity, to pretend an occasion to step into the bushes, and by this means, make my escape.

After I had refreshed myself we set off together on our way. Finding the country entirely open through which we passed, I could not put my intended flight into execution; not finding any bushes by the way. After we had travelled about two miles, we were met by two men, one of whom I knew, being on the Grand Jury at Worcester, at the time of my trial; the other was a Justice of the Peace, to whom my fellow-traveller introduced me, expressing his satisfaction, at the same time, that I had got out of "their damn'd clutches."—The Justice and Juror gave me their hands; hoped it was for the best that I was at liberty; wished I might meet with kinder treatment; and so left us. At this moment I felt a mountain's weight removed from my mind. I was satisfied that my fellow-traveller meant me no injury. I felt, likewise, that people generally viewed my treatment at Worcester as I did myself.

We travelled together until my fellow traveller arrived at the place of his destination. We there parted with expressions and feelings of reciprocal friendship.

After I had left this man, and had taken a view of the incidents of the day, I began to think that people were generally informed into the nature and particulars of my

trial; and from that information had conceived a disgust towards the Court, and a desire that I might elude, as much as possible, the effects of the sentence against me. Under this idea, I determined to travel openly, and to wear no disguise on my journey to Long-Island.

On the evening of this day, I arrived at Gloucester, a town in the state of Rhode-Island, and put up at the house of one Owen. Immediately after, I went into a shoemaker's shop, hard by, in order to get my boots mended.

The shoe-maker gave me a pair of slippers to wear while my boots were mending, which were so small that I could scarcely put my toes into them.

When I had returned into the house, the landlord, who was an impertinent fellow, having his curiosity excited by my looks, dress, &c. asked me from whence I came; who I was, &c. In the simplicity of my heart I told him all the circumstances relating to myself. Owen observed that many people had accused him of affording shelter to the insurgents, at the time of Shays' rebellion; but that he would be damned if they brought any such accusations against him again. After he had made these observations, he went out, and in about half an hour, returned with a Constable and Justice of the Peace. I was again interrogated by them respecting the circumstances of my leaving Worcester, &c.: to all which I gave a simple detail. So strongly was I infatuated.

After I had ended my narration, Owen, the Justice and Constable retired into another room, to consult what measures to take. There was a traveller at this time, who had put up at this house, and was in the room where the consultation was held. He soon came into the room where I was sitting, and beckoned me out. I immediately obeyed his motion, and received information that a plan was in agitation to carry me back to Worcester. This hint was sufficient. I was roused from my stupidity; and immediately left the house of my good landlord Owen. My boots were in the shoemaker's shop. I had nothing I could wear on my feet.

I could not travel in my slippers. I must walk barefooted.

Under these embarrassments, and by no means so refreshed by rest as to feel vigorous for another night's travel, I again began my pedestrian exercise. Soon after I had set out on my night's walk, the rain began again to descend in torrents, which continued through the whole night. I found the pain from walking excruciating. My feet had been miserably torn the night before. The gravel over which I had to walk, was sharp; and the darkness of the night prevented my seeing the stones and rubbish against which I perpetually dashed my feet.

Notwithstanding the pains which I suffered, the solitary situation in which I spent the night brought the various scenes into view, through which I had passed in such a disagreeable succession. The events of my life I found still chequered with the most surprising variety. One moment lifted on the pinnacle of hope, and the next, dashed into the vale of despondency.

I have (said I) passed through a series of trials at Worcester, the parallel to which is not to be found in the history of man. To be indicted for the attempt to ravish, and those bills predicated upon such circumstances as were exhibited in testimony, is to me altogether unaccountable. What is still more unaccountable is, the determination, anxiety, and pains of two of the Judges to have the verdicts returned against me; and even to terrify any who should look towards me with an eye of compassion. But what winds up the scene to the great climax of astonishment is, that a Jury should be so far wrought upon by such measures as to return a verdict against me.

As though one thunderbolt was not sufficient to fall upon my devoted head, I was again brought forward to answer to two new bills of indictment, accusing me of the same facts, but calling them by another name, (viz.) open lewdness. You, Sir, will be more able to judge of the propriety and legality of this transaction than I. This is a crime but little known in our country. I do

not recollect of ever hearing of a trial for such an offence, before I was called to answer to a charge of that nature. I had then but a moment's time for consideration; but am more confirmed, upon further investigation, of the propriety of my first ideas upon the subject, (viz.) that it must be an *open* transaction, in order to come within the nature of the crime. I am sensible the nature of this crime has ever been, in a measure, left indefinite. All I recollect ever having seen upon the subject, by any of the writers on criminal law, was in Hale's Pleas of the Crown. He explains the crime by saying, that it is such conduct as "those were guilty of, who shewed themselves naked, in the balcony, on the king's birth-day;" or to that purpose. This, I think, is sufficient to shew, that *openness* is an essential part to constitute the crime; and that unless the lewdness be open, it cannot be punishable by law. One circumstance is worth noticing by the way, viz. Daniel Bacon and wife testified, under solemnity, at the court of inquest, that on a particular night, (they were very positive as to the particular night) their daughter was out and not to be found; a number of months afterwards she told that she was with me at that time; though when inquiry was first made, she gave a very different reason for her being absent, too indelicate to find a place in this narrative. As this was somewhat of a memorable night, on account of a number of circumstances, I recollected my being in company with a gentleman of undoubted veracity the whole time in which it was possible for me to be with the witness, according to her testimony. I produced this gentleman, who made oath to this fact, before the Justice by whom I was committed. When the trial came on at Worcester, before the Supreme Court, the father, mother, and daughter, had then very ingeniously forgotten on what particular night the transaction took place; but only remembered it was sometime in the month of June. I believe, Sir, you will understand, by this time, there was not the greatest partiality in the Court, in my favour; and that I did not stand any very extraordinary chance for sim-

ple justice upon this business. After the trial was ended on the part of the Jury, it appeared that the sentence was as extraordinary as the trial. Happy for the world that the heart is not always callous to the feelings of justice or compassion! How different was the treatment I received from my kind entertainer at Douglass? Can the mind, fraught with compassion, look upon his conduct but with the highest veneration? We see in him, the operation of the laws of nature, unsophisticated by the pomp of dignity, and the violence of passion. He saw no fatal consequences of the ruin of society, of the destruction of morals, and of the overthrow of virtue, by my escape. He wished me happy. He wished me liberated from misery. He saw no danger arising to himself, as a member of society, or to any other, from my obtaining this. He acted accordingly. How contrary to this was the conduct of Owen! Because *he* had borne an imputation of blame, he would render me back again to misery; not because justice required, or the laws of humanity called for my apprehension; but because he should suffer additional blame in entertaining me at his house, under such circumstances. Where will this principle lead, but to the commission of every species of wickedness? When we make our conveniency a rule to infringe upon our neighbour's privileges, we shall not fail to rob him of his property, health, and life, when our conveniency shall call for such a transaction.

After travelling until near day, I turned off from the main road, and took a path which ultimately led into a large open field. In the midst of the field I found the bottom of an old stack of hay, and a yard of crooked fence around it. I took a large flake of hay, and laid it on some rails which I had fixed for that purpose, and creeped under it, to shelter myself, in some small measure, from the rain. I was, by this time, so far exhausted by the fatigue of travelling, and the pain of my feet, that I could not proceed any further; therefore I crawled under this flimsy shelter, with more pleasure than many feel in retiring to a bed of down,

hung with rich tapestry, and lulled to sleep by the enchanting sound of music. I had scarcely laid my head to the ground, before I was fast locked in the leaden arms of sleep. All things were lost to my knowledge, until about 10 o'clock, when I was aroused from my profound slumbers, by the repeated cries of men. When I first awoke, I expected that Owen and his gang had made pursuit after, and had overtaken me. But how it was possible for them to trace my route to this place, was wholly a mystery. I was not suffered, however, very long, to contemplate on this subject. I was ordered to turn out. There were three men around me. Owen was not one of them. I found that I had travelled twenty miles since I left him; and therefore concluded myself out of danger from him, and from being known by the men who were with me. I was determined not to run into the same error here as I had at Gloucester, by relating my name, situation, &c. I demanded of the men what they wanted of me? They soon informed me, that their design was to carry me to Providence, supposing me to be an accomplice with George Irish, who had been committed to Providence jail, on a suspicion of counterfeiting bank bills. A number of his accomplices had made their escape, for the apprehension of whom a reward was offered. Being found by these men, in such a situation, they suspected I was one who had fled on the before mentioned account. I endeavored to convince them that so far from being an accomplice with George Irish, I had never seen him. I believe they were pretty thoroughly convinced of their mistake; but still supposed that some extraordinary cause had brought me to this place; and therefore talked of carrying me to Providence. I was sensible I should be recognized in that town; and of course, should be exposed to the danger of being carried back from thence to Worcester. The men perceived that I was unwilling to be carried to Providence; and being desirous to make me turn to some account, began to banter me upon the price I would give for my liberation. I expostulated with them upon the cruelty of exacting

money for my liberation; but my expostulations were in vain. I found they were bent upon carrying me to Providence unless I would buy them off. After much altercation upon the subject, they consented to release me for eleven dollars. I gave them the money and they went off.

After I had got rid of my disagreeable companions, I again walked on as well as the soreness of my feet would allow. I had travelled about a mile, when I began to feel extremely faint for the want of food. I therefore determined to go into the first house, and obtain some refreshment, if possible. I accordingly entered a house, hard by the way side, and asked the woman of the house, if she would permit me to take a dinner with her. My appearance, my lameness, &c. had a strong effect upon her feelings. She gave me a pleasant dinner, and said many things to sooth and comfort me. She wanted to know more particulars relating to my circumstances than I wished to communicate. After I had rested myself awhile, and was about making ready to compensate the good woman for her kindness and refreshment, she desired me to sit down for a minute. She then went into another room, and soon returned with a pair of thin shoes, belonging to her husband, tolerably good, and presented them to me. I offered to compensate her for the shoes and dinner; but she refused to receive any thing, alleging that, "thy necessities are greater than mine; and when thou seest one in distress, and hast it in thy power to relieve him, remember that he is thy brother."

I was struck with astonishment at the nobleness, combined with simplicity, of this woman's sentiments. Did mankind view the relation they stand in to each other with these sentiments of benevolence, and act accordingly, how changed would be the miseries of life, to scenes of the most pleasing contemplation? There, said I, is religion, manifested in a clearer manner than what Ridgley has displayed in his whole body of Divinity. There is virtue; there is benevolence; and finally there is every thing which ennobles the human character.

After I had left this house, I travelled on again; but so great was the embarrassment I met with from my feet, that with all my exertion, I did not travel more than four miles through the remainder of that day. My feet were too much swolen to admit of my travelling with my shoes on; I was, therefore, under the disagreeable necessity of carrying them in my hands. This was on Saturday; and I concluded, that resting one day without travelling, would serve to recruit my feet so as to be able to wear my shoes. And as I should have a plausible pretext for lying by on Sunday, I determined to appropriate that time for such a purpose.

I found it would be impossible for me to travel in this country without giving some account of myself, or disobliging the people at whose houses I should call; and therefore found it necessary to fix upon some system, and be uniform in it. To pass for an inhabitant of any of the towns in New-England, I was constantly exposed to meet with people, who would either be an inhabitant of, or acquainted in the town from whence I pretended to come; and this leading to a discovery of the deception, people would be led to form unfavorable conjectures concerning me, perhaps, more than they ought. Under these circumstances, I thought it best to pass for a foreigner, and lay the scene of my birth, &c. in London; as the probability would be, that I should not often meet with my fellow townsmen of that place; and even should that be the case, I could still act my part without detection as a member of that great city; it being easily accounted for that I should not be acquainted with every individual in such a populous place. My birth, place of abode, &c. I fixed in Leadenhall-street. My real parentage, connexions, &c. I retained, only transporting them to London. Some account I must give for my leaving England, and coming into America, and for my present forlorn situation. I concluded that the real account, with a little alteration, would answer, only changing the place of action. Moreover, as this last information would be considered by people in general, as a delicate point, they would be more willing to receive their information by distant hints.

I had determined to wear this character until I could introduce myself into business, and obtain an establishment for my family; until I could, likewise, see the operations of the world towards me, under my real name. I expected that in this situation I could form a better estimate of what would be prudent for me to do, as I should then be in a capacity to learn the feelings of the public towards me; and what would be their treatment, should I discover myself and reassume my real character.

I entered a tavern and called for entertainment over night. Soon after I had been in the house, I discovered the landlord was sick. After inquiry, I perceived that he had the remitting fever, which I mentioned in the course of conversation. This aroused his attention, and he enquired eagerly whether I was a doctor? Thinking I might reap an advantage from this profession on this occasion, and being persuaded I could help the man, I assumed the character of an English physician with no small degree of parade. I was fortunate in my administrations, which gave seasonable and effectual relief.

I tarried here till Monday morning, and to my no small satisfaction, found I could travel with my shoes on my feet. When I departed, I was rewarded with a French crown for my medical assistance. About noon this day I overtook a man dressed in clean, neat apparel, carrying a bottle of rum. He accosted me in the following manner. "Shipmate, will ye take a drop of rum to cheer your spirits this warm day?" I did not wish to treat his friendly salutation with neglect or contempt. It has ever been a principle by which I have wished to regulate my conduct, to treat the sentiments of benevolence with attention, let them be manifested in ever so singular or uncouth a manner. Accordingly, I accepted the benevolent invitation of this Hibernian. Not being possessed with an appetite for rum, I only put the bottle to my mouth, and offered to return it; but my fellow-traveller refused to receive it until I had drank again. "And now, sir," said he, "I am an Irishman myself. I have lived in this country fourteen years. I married a fine girl here, and have five fine children. I tell you, sir, they are as likely children

as any in the country; and this is allowed by all. I served my time in Dublin with a weaver. My father was a weaver; and indeed he thought no little of himself at that business: but one bloody day I bate him at weaving; at which the old man orthered me to fetch him a pail of wather, and he poor'd it on the ground. This he kept doing till I fatched forty pails of wather: then the old man took and gave me a bloody bating. At this I run off and listed for a soldier, and came into this country. But, sir, you look like one in distress. Are ye of this country?" My answer was in the negative, but told him I was from London. At this the Hibernian jumped towards me, seized me by the hand, and shook it in such a manner as to feel that he was in earnest. He observed that we were old neighbors; for London, said he, is but a short bit from Dublin.

After our mutually recognizing each other for old neighbors, he looked at me with an arch significance, and observed, that some misfortune he presumed had brought me to this country. I told him, it truly was so; that an unfortunate contest had rendered it necessary for me to leave the country "O ho!" said he, "you fought a duel?" I assented. "By J—s," said he, "did you challenge him fair?" I did. He then seized my hand again, and declared he was satisfied that I was a good fellow. "And by the Immortal," said he, "you shall go home with me, and I will keep you a fortnight, and then will put a dollar into your hand. I am determined to fight a duel myself with a bloody rascal, who sold me a cow, and told me she was farrow, and all the time she had a calf in her; and you shall go and be my second."

You will readily conceive that this invitation did no way comport with my views and desire. I had recourse to a number of excuses to elude the force of it. The Hibernian was not willing to accept any apology I could make; and it was with difficulty I obtained my release from this knight of the bottle. However, after marching and countermarching some length of time he gave up the pursuit, and let me depart with the honors of war.

Thus I found it difficult to pass without great obstructions in my first essays upon the plan which I had studied with so much caution, and which I thought might be pursued without interruption. Sir, my best wishes wait on you.

CHAP. II.

"Bent on destruction, and in love with death!
Not all these luminaries, quench'd at once,
Were half so sad as one benighted mind,
Which gropes for happiness, and meets despair."

AFTER I had freed myself from my troublesome companion, I hastened on to Stonington-Point, in order to find a passage to Long-Island. When I had arrived, I found the prospect of such a passage not very flattering; and therefore determined to go to New-London, a town fourteen miles distant, where I was informed a packet ran regularly once a week. In the course of the next day I arrived at New-London, where I immediately went on board a boat ready to sail for Long-Island. Early the next morning we arrived at Sag-Harbor, the only port of entry on this island.

I now supposed myself on ground where I should no longer be exposed to the cruel lash of the envenomed tongue of slander. I supposed myself in a situation convenient to begin my operations in order to establish myself in business. I passed here for an Englishman lately from London, forbearing to subjoin the word *new*. My name was demanded. I told them it was Stephen Edenson, (my father's name being Eden.) The people therefore called my name Edenson. I acquiesced in the name.

I began to inquire for a vacancy where a school-master was wanted. I had not long made the inquiry, before I was accosted by a gentleman, who introduced himself to me by the name of Havens. I was informed by the landlord of the inn where I had put up, that the gentleman was Judge Havens of Shelter-Island. After inquiring from whence I came, my education, my age, my objects,

&c. he informed me that he lived on Shelter-Island, about three miles from that place; that the island contained about thirty families; that they were destitute of a school, and wished to engage an instructor: "therefore," said he, "if you wish to accept the chance, I will use my influence in your behalf on the island, that you may obtain the school. It will not be an object of any considerable consequence, only to give you a temporary standing among us, until you become acquainted with the ways and manners of the people of this country, and learn the objects which may offer for your attention."

I accepted the offer made by Judge Havens, and took passage with him in a boat going to the island. When I arrived, I found the island lying nearly in a circular form, containing, by estimation, about 8000 acres. On this island lived the number of families as mentioned before; among whom were three, by the names of Nichols, Dearing, and Havens, who were the chief proprietors of the island. There was a tavern kept by one Havens, in the middle of the island. He likewise kept a small store of goods in his house. This man possessing many singularities, which rendered him a person on whom the attention of strangers was naturally drawn, I think it necessary to give you some further description of him.

This publican was extremely fond of being in the secret of every man's business and circumstances, and not only so, but likewise to have it thought so by others. So strong was his desire for knowledge in all the minute circumstances which related to any one, that, whenever a stranger entered his house, his first conversation would be directed to his name, circumstances, connexions, &c. Should the stranger chance to carry a portmanteau with him, or a bundle of any kind whatever, he might lay his account to have it searched, even before his face. His thirst for conversation was insatiable. His tongue had almost become a perpetual motion, and what rendered this circumstance highly disagreeable was, that he was so deaf that one must halloo with great strength in order to make him hear any answers to his innumerable questions. He was fond of shewing his sagacity by understanding half answers, and

motions of the head and countenance. Hence he frequently obtained strange ideas of the occurrences of the times, &c. Notwithstanding this humorous side of the picture, the reverse was drawn with many virtues. He was a man of unshaken integrity in all matters in which he was concerned, either of a public or private nature; much attached to order and regularity as a member of society, rigidly just in all his dealings, and a constant promoter of the means of general information. Under these circumstances, many laughed at his foibles, and at the same time revered his virtues. Mr. Nichols was born to a state of affluence, and was happily connected with a most agreeable family. Col. Dearing was in possession of a large estate, encumbered with considerable debts, which, by a system of strict economy, he was annually decreasing. This man possessed good information respecting his domestic matters, beyond which his capacity did not extend. He was extremely haughty, and a presbyterian bigot.

I found the secluded situation of this island had a very decided influence upon the manners of its inhabitants. By not having that constant opportunity for intercourse with other parts of the world, they became extremely attached to their own peculiar manners and customs, to a degree of bigotry, which was very disagreeable to a stranger upon a first acquaintance. I found that want of ease and accessibility, of that candor and liberality, which so peculiarly characterises a people of refinement. Notwithstanding, when these difficulties were once surmounted, I found them a people possessing many excellent qualities of heart.

The principles of economy were pretty well understood by the inhabitants of this island. Their soil was not so luxuriant as to preclude the necessity of economy. An acre of this ground would produce, upon an average, fifteen bushels of wheat, and twenty-four bushels of Indian corn. It afforded a moderate supply of grass for neat cattle; but the productions of a dairy, which might be made considerably profitable, were entirely neglected. Their improvements in agriculture did not appear to be making rapid advances towards perfection. Their situation was under most excellent privileges, as it related to marketing

their produce, and obtaining their returns: it ever being convenient to send to New-York by vessels from their own shores. Land on this island sold about eight dollars the acre.

I obtained a school at the moderate price of six dollars per month, together with my boarding, washing and lodging. I entered upon this office with no very sanguine expectations of making a permanent establishment for myself and family. Yet it was a resting place from severer trials. I was retired from the world, and sheltered from the storm, which had been so abundantly poured upon my devoted head. I was in a situation, I thought, too inconsiderable to raise the feelings of jealousy, or alarm the most selfish mind. Yet in this I labored under a mistaken apprehension. A son of the inn-keeper, who had formerly taught a school on this island, was much mortified at my introduction into a place which he had once filled, and which he wished to occupy again. He considered me as a person of very little consequence, being poorly dressed, and was attentive to treat me accordingly. He frequently gave me invitations to assist him in the labors of the field at my leisure hours from school. He carried his politeness so far one afternoon, as to threaten to turn me out of the house, if I would not assist him in raking hay. But my tranquillity was not much injured by these circumstances, knowing this spark to be totally destitute of the power which he threatened to exercise; and otherwise too inconsiderable to affect my interest with the people.

My situation was such as to excite the greatest anxiety of the inn-keeper to develope a character which appeared to be somewhat veiled in mystery. His assiduous attention to my concerns was marked with the most noticeable circumstances. He would often throw himself in my way, in order to assure me how much he felt interested in my welfare, and likewise of the unbounded confidence I might place in him, in any matters which might partake of the nature of difficulty or secrecy.

By half answers, inuendos and shrewd suggestions, the old man had obtained a most surprising idea of my history: and sorry am I to say it, too much was acted on my

part, to communicate this unfounded system of ideas in his mind. These were secrets of too great magnitude for him to comprise in his own breast, without pain of the greatest kind; therefore, to ease his mind of the enormous load under which he groaned, he imparted his trust to many of his friends. However, they were not convinced that they had obtained all the circumstances which related to my life. They therefore entered into a plan to pursue the discovery; and accordingly agreed among themselves to persuade me to write to some of my acquaintance in England, or some of the British dominions; and uncle Jim, as the innkeeper was called, was to send the letter, by the way of New-York, immediately to the place of destination. Uncle Jim's deafness discovered to me the plot which was so ingeniously concerted, and the part which he was to maintain in it. Being apprised of the design of this jacobin club, I easily entered into the plan, and made it a scene of great amusement. I wrote a long letter to the Right Honorable Lord George Montague, &c. &c.: I filled the body of the letter with high encomiums upon uncle Jim and his family, more particularly his daughters. This was touching him upon a string which vibrated to the centre of his heart. His favorite object was the beauty of his daughters and the excellency of his family. The old gentleman was running over full of satisfaction upon the discovery of these mighty state secrets. He began to contemplate the probability of his becoming known to the first families in the British dominions, and of obtaining the whole budget of secrets relating to them; and likewise the office of an agent to transact their business.

These circumstances brought me into a situation somewhat disagreeable. I was reduced to a condition in which I was obliged, in some measure, to give countenance to those representations which I found had obtained among the people at large. The fact was, that for my own diversion, I had given rise to those ridiculous ideas which had taken such deep root in the minds of those who were concerned in the *letter plot*, that I found no small degree of danger in receding from the ground which I had first taken.

As I became more acquainted with the people on this island, I found their curiosity more exercised in penetrating the secrets of my pretended history. Their continued questions on this subject growing more and more irksome, I found, that by my own imprudence, I had involved myself in a disagreeable and ridiculous situation.

About this time I became acquainted with a man called Doctor Havens, possessing this appellation by courtesy, rather than by merit in the science of medicine. He put two of his children under my care as an instructor. As his character will appear several times in the course of this narrative, it will be necessary to give you some general sketch of this man, previous to my proceeding to particulars in which he was concerned. As I have hinted, this man was very ignorant; of a mind, by nature, sordid and clownish in the extreme; possessing no feelings of delicacy or propriety; yet very ambitious of introducing his family into the high and more refined circles of life. Being governed by no principle, he ever used such means as came in his way, to further his objects, without any reference to their quality or merit. He would appear generous and hospitable to such characters as he thought would promote his interests, or further his objects; but to others he appeared in the native hue of selfish penury.

You will readily conclude that a man of this cast would not be idle under circumstances of such a kind as those in which I was involved. Often I had invitations of the warmest kind to make his house my home. When I made him visits, I was treated with a degree of hospitality truly grateful. I often found him indirectly hinting that my present situation of apparent poverty did not preclude my attention and success among the ladies who were standing in the market for marriage, (by the way, the Doctor had two daughters in that predicament) and of introducing myself into business, by which I could maintain a family, and support a reputation of credit among the people; observing with great sagacity, how different matters of such a nature were in this country from what they were in England. He gave me an invitation of commencing business in partnership with one of his sons, in the mercantile line;

observing that, could I raise 500l. by the help of my friends, he would let one of his sons carry on the business for me for half the profits; intimating that such an offer was generous on his side, as the weight of the business would lie upon his son, until I should become acquainted with the mode of doing business in America. I found to my surprize, the most pointed enmity existing between this man and his only brother, who was his nearest neighbor, and also between the two families. I was by no means backward in manifesting my astonishment upon the occasion; but by the representation of the Doctor and his family, was given to understand that his brother Constant was, of all the various works of nature, the worst, the most unnatural and inhuman. This reason quieted my astonishment, but did not satisfy my feelings. Finally, the clownish bluntness of the old Doctor served to cover many vices of the mind, which would have been suspected sooner in one possessed of politer manners.

This man was as avaricious for information into the subject of secret history as his namesake, the inn-keeper; but their motives for obtaining this information were very different. The one sought it for the gratification of internal feelings; the other for the opportunity of turning such a circumstance to his advantage in adding to his property, or promoting the advancement of his family. The Doctor had no embarrassment of delicacy to surmount: he came immediately to the point, and insisted, *sans ceremonie*, to be initiated into the whole system of secrecy. He was not to be turned off by a polite evasion, or an intimation that the matters, into which he inquired, were not to be divulged. His professions of friendship were unbounded; his assiduities of attention were innumerable, and his feelings really appeared to be interested in my behalf. He gained my confidence so far, as fully to believe that his professions were sincere, notwithstanding many intimations from others relating to his general character. Yet I never esteemed him as a confidential friend, owing to his want of abilities more than uprightness, in my view.

Judge Havens was another character who made his appearance upon the stage of action at this time; but per-

formed a very different part from the others who have been already mentioned. He was a man of science, and by no means affected with the mania of discovering secrets. A close application to study had produced in him a habit of appearing absent in company, unless the subject of conversation turned upon some branch of science; then he became animated and instructive.

He lived somewhat secluded from common access, owing to his continual perseverance in the pursuit of science. His genius was not brilliant; but his unabating industry supplied the defect. He thought with metaphysical accuracy upon every subject which he undertook to investigate; which often produced too great a degree of refinement in his theories for the convenience of practice. He was a man of delicate feelings, though not so suddenly moved as many others of a more volatile constitution. His integrity as a public character was inviolate. As a private companion, he was pleasing and agreeable; and, as a member of society, he was useful and beneficial.

This was the pleasing side of the portrait. The reverse was not greatly darkened. His temper partook somewhat of the obstinate. He was ambitious of popularity, and somewhat timid in pursuing those measures which might render him unpopular, however justice might call for them. In some of his transactions in the field of love, his moral rectitude had been censured by the inhabitants of the vicinity; and as that was a subject of too much delicacy for me to introduce to him, I never heard his observations upon it, and therefore had but a partial idea of the matter.

Thus stood the principal characters with whom I was immediately concerned as an instructor for their children. I pursued the business with close application; and, as I flattered myself, with a degree of reputation. I had not continued long in this situation, before my kind entertainer, uncle Jim, introduced the idea of my writing for the periodical publications of the press. This subject did not find an agreeable place in my mind. I was a stranger in the place; ignorant of the prevalent ideas of the country, their political and moral character. Moreover, (strange

as it may seem from my conduct) I wished to remain as little known in this place as possible, and therefore declined the proposal. Yet I found the old gentleman so tenaciously attached to the plan, that I was quite surprised; however, from the drift of his discourse upon the subject, I had concluded that his idea was, to appear himself as the author of the business, proposing to copy the pieces in his own hand writing, previous to their going to the press, and to have the matter known only between him and me. The old gentleman, on this occasion, not only professed a great disposition for secrecy on his part, but also enjoined the like on me, in the most pointed and earnest manner.

Under this view of the matter, I consented to his proposal. I began my literary task under the name of the Philanthropist. I had proceeded as far as the fourth or fifth number, before any thing of note took place in consequence of these publications, excepting the pleasure which uncle Jim apparently enjoyed in transacting the business, under the veil of secrecy. At length, a clergyman of Southampton, taking the alarm at some sentiments here manifested, published a very spirited answer to them. A reply on my part was then unavoidable. The clergyman answered my reply, and I rejoined to his answer. By this time the attention of the public was excited to the controversy, more than to the merit of the publications; and they were of course anxious to know the combatants. It was known at the printing-office, that uncle Jim uniformly brought the Philanthropist for publication; and also that the manuscripts were ever in his hand writing. These circumstances turned the eyes of the public upon him; and he possessed the fortitude, for some time, to retain the secret; but at length it became a burden too heavy for him to support alone. Therefore he imparted it to some of his intimate friends, who compassionately relieved him from the cumber, by dissolving the charm of secrecy, and giving the matter to the public.

I now found a retreat the only place of safety; and therefore withdrew my lucubrations from the press; and here ended the matter, as it related to me in the character of the Philanthropist. But I had, by this time, excited the

attention of the public, and every one was ready to make his own comments upon a character so new; having, by direct and indirect means, given myself a character very novel; and my intimate friends had highly embellished the superstructure which my fancy had reared. There were almost as many different opinions concerning me as there were persons to form them. But none of the various conjectures happened to light on the identical character which I had sustained in reality, though the publications from Worcester relating to my confinement, trial, and escape were among this people.

I found no prospect of making an establishment for my family on this island, the encouragement for instructing was so small; and as that was an object of the utmost consequence to me, I turned my attention to some other place. I made application for a birth, when my time should expire on Shelter Island, at a number of places; and at length found an opening in a parish called Bridghampton, a part of Southampton, on Long-Island. At this place I engaged to teach a school at the price of twelve dollars per month, without the privilege of board or any of its appendages. I engaged to begin this school in two weeks after the time of my teaching the other should expire, which time of intermission I had determined to appropriate to the purpose of revisiting my family, and learning the operation of things since I had left them. As this time approached, my anxiety to put my intended visit into execution increased to such a degree as to deprive me of sleep.

I lived, at this time, in the family of Judge Havens. I endeavored to enter into his character and disposition; and to penetrate the governing principles by which he was actuated. After I had satisfied my mind upon these heads, I determined to lay open to his view the whole of my situation, and consult him upon that line of conduct which he should think adviseable, in order to answer the object which lay so near my heart. I had fixed upon the time, in my own mind, to unfold this circumstance. I came prepared from school at the intended time to put in force this resolution. But while I walked leisurely from the school-house to my lodgings, which was about one hun-

dred rods, it occurred to my mind into what a disagreeable situation I had once been involved by communicating such a secret; how possible, and even how probable it was I might be deceived in my expectations from Judge Havens, notwithstanding my favorable predictions towards him; how often I had been egregiously deceived by the conduct of certain characters when the prospects of life were changed; how he must be surprised at coming to the knowledge of real facts relating to me. Under this view of the matter, I shrunk back from the scene, and durst not proceed. I concluded still to let matters of this kind lie in a state of secrecy, until I had been back to Charlton, and learned the feelings and sentiments of mankind concerning me.

My time of engagement was almost expired. I soon expected to recross the Sound, and measure back my former steps to Charlton. This last part of my time seemed to move with leaden feet. I had not heard from my family, connexions, or acquaintance, since I left them. I had not written to them, nor had I dared to inquire after them, or any of the inhabitants living in that part of the world. Therefore my desire to see them was beyond the power of language to express. At this moment, when my wishes were almost gratified; when the object of my most earnest desire was almost within my power, I was suddenly taken sick with the remitting fever.

This stroke was too much for my utmost fortitude to endure. I sunk under it. I felt the weakness of a child. It struck me in a part which I was not prepared to defend. I could not bear the thought of submitting to a fit of sickness at the present juncture; but sad necessity taught me that I must endure what I could not avert. My fond prospects were blasted; the painted vision of enjoyment fled from my view. The little money which I had, with so much perseverance, scraped together for my small excursion into the country, was likely to be all swallowed up by the expenses of sickness, which must eventually preclude the possibility of my returning to my family. These circumstances, which foreboded the most dismal prospects, left but little consolation to my feelings. The fever and melancholy made rapid havock of my constitution.

Under these circumstances, Doctor Havens made me the offer of quarters and attendance at his house, until my recovery. I accepted his offer, and was removed to his house accordingly. As I had ever been averse to loading the stomach with medicine in cases of sickness, I now pursued the same course, and invariably adhered to my old maxim, of "giving nature her way," until the ninth day, when, by the help of a generous constitution, the fever formed a crisis, nature predominated, and the disorder abated. Doctor Havens was willing to give himself airs of consequence from this speedy decision in my favor, although he had only given me two potions of the cortex Peru, and that after the fever had abated. I was so far recovered as to set out on my intended journey on the twelfth day of my sickness, much against the advice of Doctor Havens. Before my departure, I called upon the Doctor for my bill for board, attendance, &c.; his answer was to the following effect, (viz.) that as twenty shillings was due to me from him for schooling his children, and as he expected to send them to me again, at Bridghampton, and to receive special attention to them at all leisure hours, he would rest the discharge of my bill upon that ground. I acquiesced with his proposal, under an apprehension of his having his full due; the price of boarding, washing and lodging being eight shillings per week; and as I was at the Doctor's two weeks only, and my situation such as not to cause a great degree of special trouble, I considered the addition of eight shillings more per week to be a full compensation for my receipts. Therefore, as his bill under this settlement would amount to thirty-two shillings, there would remain a balance of twelve shillings in his favor, which he expected, and did receive by my extra attention to his children afterwards.

I was somewhat disappointed when I called upon the Doctor for a settlement. By the course of his conversation, when I came to his house, he clearly intimated that he would make me welcome to the favor. And moreover, his abundant professions of friendly attention were sufficient to induce me to expect that he would not demand pay for my boarding, &c.; considering my peculiar situation,

(he being a man himself in easy circumstances) and the particular and pointed declarations of friendly assistance which he had made, almost at every time I had seen him during my residence on the island. However, I esteemed his demand no more than strictly just, and considered his calculations to befriend me, operating in some other channel, to which I had not yet been introduced.

The time had now expired in which I was to begin my school at Bridghampton. However, I could not reconcile my mind to the idea of relinquishing my visit to my family; and accordingly sent on word that sickness had disenabled me from opening my school so soon, by a fortnight, as my engagement had specified. Under these circumstances I entered on board the boat to recross the Sound to New-London, having given the people to understand that I had heard of a certain *friend* of mine being some where in the state of Massachusetts, to whom it was very necessary for me to make a visit.

I was entrusted with some letters to a gentleman in New-London; and immediately after my arrival in the city, it being five o'clock, P. M. the same day, I set about discharging the trust by delivering the letters. When I arrived in New-London, I felt fearful of being known, and wished to be seen as little as possible.

The reason of this desire was of the following nature, viz. being in doubt of the operation which a knowledge of my real character would have upon the feelings of the people where I had engaged to teach a school; and likewise ignorant of the representations the public would make on that head; I did not wish yet to put the matter to a trial, until I should have further opportunity to establish myself in the place. There were people with me from Long-Island, and therefore should I be recognized by any in New-London, it would develope the business immediately to those who were with me, and the knowledge of this matter would reach Bridghampton previous to my return.

Thus stood matters in New-London. I had determined to deliver the letters and immediately leave the town. I accordingly set out for the house of General Hunting-

ton, the gentleman to whom the letter was directed, in company with one of those who came with me from Long-Island. This companion I wished handsomely to drop, but found myself unable. As I was walking through the street, I observed a number of gentlemen standing together, and observing me with attention. I immediately concluded that I was discovered and known. However, I walked by without appearing to notice them; when I heard one of them uttering with an emphasis, "By G—d it is Burroughs." This satisfied me as to the truth of my first conjecture. I wished, more and more, my companion gone; but to no purpose: he still remained with me in spite of all my efforts to the contrary.

I found that those who had observed me with so much attention, were following after me, and continued at but a short distance, until I came to the house of General Huntington. When I went into this house, they made a stand in the street before the door, until I came out; when they immediately came up to me, and, in the language of friendship, inquired after my health. I was agreeably surprised to find two of my college class-mates among the number, who were practising attornies, attending the Supreme Court sitting in New-London.

When they accosted me by my name, I gave them to understand they were mistaken. The greater part understood the reply, and went away as though satisfied with being convinced of their mistake; yet one, by the name of Bulkley, one of the before mentioned college class-mates, remained firm to his integrity, and declared that he *knew* it to be me: "that he thought it to be me before he heard me speak; but since then was entirely certain." At this moment, there was passing by a man by the name of Hyde, a new made Justice of the Peace, belonging to Norwich, who being led into the subject by Bulkley, manifested an ardent desire of convincing the world how prompt he was in the execution of his peace-office. He called for assistance, laid hold of me by their help, and conveyed me to the Attorney-General, Mr. Coit. My companion from Long-Island was terrified at seeing all this; and learning nothing more than that I had changed

my name, he came up to me with a woful aspect on his countenance, and said, "A'nt you sorry you changed your name?"

The others who had first accosted me, and more particularly, William Hart, my college acquaintance, concluding where Hyde and his gang were conveying me, hastened to the Attorney-General before we arrived, in time sufficient to give him a just statement of the matter. When we arrived at the house of Mr. Coit, I found a large gathering already there. I had now given myself over as lost. I concluded that my detention and reconveyance back to Worcester, were quite certain. The extreme state of weakness to which I was reduced by sickness rendered the prospect of escape hopeless. I saw the rigor of my confinement increased, and the severity of my punishment by no means diminished. I saw another series of cruel sufferings before me, of which I could not even conjecture an end. Hyde exulted much in the part he had acted, concluding, as I readily understood, from his conversation, that he had done himself immortal honor. He took the utmost pains to exhibit me to the view of the surrounding spectators as a monster of iniquity, and as a devil incarnate, in order to enhance his own merit in the act of confining me from society. He told many anecdotes relating to me; of my stealing horses, committing rapes, &c. &c. With all, he wound up, with an anecdote of his own experience. "When I was riding through the state of New-Hampshire, some years since," said Hyde, "I saw a man standing in his door at Charlestown, who took me to be Burroughs.* I was on a very fine horse, and the man called out to me, Burroughs, where did you get that horse? I made no answer, but rode on; when the man called again, Damn you Burroughs, if you do not stop, I will stop you! But continuing still to ride on, the man ran after me, and overtook me; when I turned about, and demanded what he wanted. The man, by this, discovering his mistake, begged my pardon, observing, I thought it was one Burroughs, a great horse thief; and I have no no-

* Esquire Hyde was about 5 feet 8 inches high.

tion of being stopped as I ride the country on such a fellow's account."

After Hyde had ended his harrangue, the Attorney-General demanded if my name was Burroughs. I told him it was. He enquired further if I had been confined in Worcester jail, and from thence had made my escape. My answer was in the affirmative. He then demanded where I had been since; what doing, where going, &c. To which I gave him a simple statement of the truth. He then made a reply which will leave a grateful monument of esteem in my mind, so long as his name is retained in my powers of recollection. "Mr. Burroughs, we in Connecticut feel ourselves interested in the fate of every man, and wish him to be happy in promoting his own good, combined with that of society; and where we find him making that his object, we wish to assist him forward, rather than throw any obstacle in his pursuit. As this appears to have been your object for the summer past, and as you are still inclined to pursue it, it is my duty to encourage such a pursuit, and not hinder it; therefore you may consider yourself at liberty to depart. I have heard your history. I have been made acquainted with your trials at Worcester. I have wished, and still wish you a happier lot."

At this instant I felt the weight of a mountain removed from my mind. All the horrid prospects of confinement, punishment, &c. immediately vanished. The sunshine of hope burst with full splendor upon my soul, and filled me with so great a measure of joy, that, in my debilitated situation, it almost overpowered my strength; and, with difficulty, I prevented myself from fainting. Indeed, sir, it was a state of enjoyment so great as to render it truly painful. The prospect flashed on my mind the idea of again enjoying my family, connexions and society; and the possibility of maintaining them, by my industry, without danger of being interrupted.

I returned to Mr. Coit my warmest acknowledgments of gratitude for his humanity. Yet my tongue did not utter the thousandth part of what my heart dictated. I was overcome. A universal tremor shook my frame;

and I was glad of a moment's ease by retiring, and hiding my feelings in my own bosom. When I had left Mr. Coit, and arrived at the Coffee-house for lodgings over night, I found there my Long-Island companion, who, finding me liberated from confinement, began to think that changing one's name was not so flagrant a violation of the laws of Connecticut as he had, at first, apprehended. I stated to him my desire that he would not, on his return, make any mention of the occurrence, or that he knew any thing relating to my possessing another name. He promised a compliance, and much to my surprise, kept the secret inviolate.

Early next morning, I went on board a packet-boat going up the river, as far as the little city of Norwich, fourteen miles directly on my way to Charlton, where we arrived about noon. After our arrival, I immediately set out on foot, and reached fourteen miles further that afternoon. I put up at a house where the people were strangers, as I then conceived, in the town of Canterbury. During the course of the evening, by some conversation that passed in the family, I began to conjecture that I was in the house of an old acquaintance of my father. Previous to my retiring to bed, the man of the house came home, who was before absent; and I readily recognized the countenance of Doctor Knight, although I had not seen him since I was of the age of seven, being about the space of twenty years.

The Doctor conducted me to the bed where I was to sleep, and I embraced that opportunity to discover myself to him, hoping to gain some intelligence which might be of consequence, either relating to my family, or the public opinion, and measures which had been taken since I left the country. I was, however, unsuccessful in my object, not gaining any intelligence upon either of those points. I arose early next morning, and departed, after being made welcome, by the Doctor, to my lodging.

I found a fever perpetually hanging about me, and the worry of travelling constantly increasing it. But my feelings were so much interested in pursuing my journey, that my judgment had lost its force; and I travelled with

an unabating diligence, until midnight, when, to my no small satisfaction, I arrived to the abode of my family. This scene I shall never presume to describe. Your own fruitful imagination will do more justice to the subject than is possible for the power of language to perform.

I tarried here two days, and found my health constantly declining. I began to grow alarmed, under an apprehension that I might have a severe confinement by sickness in this place, and by that means, be discovered, and committed to Worcester jail. Therefore I procured a friend to carry me on horseback, into the state of Connecticut, where we arrived about midnight, at the house of a distant relation in the town of Thompson. Here I tarried until the close of the next evening, and then began my journey again on foot. However, I found my weakness so great, I could not proceed more than two miles that night. I stopped at a house about 9 o'clock in the evening, and went to bed immediately; but found little rest through the night. A fit of the fever and ague came on me; and after that the sweat poured from every part of my body in the most copious effusion. In the morning I was scarcely able to rise from my bed. However, I dressed myself, and after procuring horses, I again set off for Plainfield, about twelve miles distant, in order to take the stage from thence to Norwich. I arrived here about noon, but so very weak that I was under the necessity of going immediately to bed. Indeed my disorder began to increase so rapidly, that I pretty much despaired of returning to Long-Island for the present, and concluded that I must be confined by a fit of sickness. A fit of the fever and ague came on me again, and after that the copious discharge of sweat. I felt more at ease when the sweat had ceased, but by no means strengthened. However, I determined to set forward again at the arrival of the stage.

About 4 o'clock in the afternoon I took a seat in the stage, and set off for Norwich. I found in the stage a gentleman of the law from Boston, travelling to the west. After some introductory conversation, I was satisfied that I was not recognized by him, although we had formerly known each other. After I was satisfied in this respect,

I gradually introduced, as though by accident, the topic of conversation which lay near my heart (viz.) the singular trial of one Burroughs, at the sitting of the Supreme Court at Worcester in their April term. I manifested some surprise at the conducting this trial by the court, if I had been rightly informed into the matter. He allowed my information to be correct, but defended their conduct by the singularity of the character they had to deal with. His ideas upon that subject were of the following nature, viz.

"This Burroughs was, of all characters you ever heard mention made, the most singular. He has led a course of the most barefaced and horrid crimes of any man living, even from his childhood, to such a degree, that his own father has desired the courts to shew him no favor, and wishes, for the good of society, to have him confined perpetually, as the only possible means to prevent that course of horrid transgressions which he has perpetrated ever since he has been capable of acting. After an innumerable train of instances in which he was guilty of stealing, counterfeiting, robbing, adultery, &c. &c. he was apprehended and sent on to the Castle. In this situation, as though confinement had made him ten-fold worse than formerly, he often threw the whole garrison into a state of alarm; burnt the buildings; wounded the soldiers, some, it was supposed mortally; and finally made his escape. After his escape, no property was secure from his grasp; no virtue was proof against his wiles, even to such a measure that he became a general nuisance to society; and the country arose in its own defence and confined him in jail.

"Such a character you will not wonder was very obnoxious to the court, and they found it necesary to take the most decided measures to bring him to justice; for even under this load of infamy, he had planned his matters with that address and dexterity, by means of the testimony of his accomplices, that, with the utmost difficulty, the court obtained his condemnation. After that they determined to lay a sentence upon him that should keep him confined for a long time; but in vain. He soon made his escape, and is now acting the same scenes of excess over

again. Finally, you cannot enter into the merits of this trial, so as to understand it thoroughly, unless you should become really acquainted with the villain; then you would be sensible that too great exertions could not be made against him."

The carriage at this moment broke down; and all the passengers were under a necessity of halting, until another was brought to take them up. Under this situation, William Hart, Esq. came riding up, and saluted me by the name of "Burroughs." Aghast and astonished, the poor lawyer rolled his eyeballs in wild dismay. The apparition of Macbeth's Ghost would not have been so terrible to this son of the long robe, as the sight of that identical man, whose picture he had so pleasingly drawn. "He believed he could walk to Norwich much easier than wait for the carriage." He made his obeisance to the company, and marched off. As low as my spirits had been reduced by the gloomy prospects presented by my increasing sickness, I felt them exhilirated by this curious circumstance. I laughed aloud, which conveyed the sensations of my heart to this knight of romance; but he did not tarry for any further explanation. He pursued his course with diligence, and was soon out of sight.

We were directly reseated in another carriage, and drove on with speed; but did not overtake our lawyer. He had either stopped by the way, or made greater progress on foot than is common for men who are not impelled by extraordinary motives.

The stage set me down at Norwich-Landing, and continued its route to the town. This night I found the fits of fever and ague increasing, and my strength continually abating. The next morning it was with difficulty I reached the boat bound to New-London, where we arrived about two o'clock, P. M. I here found that I could not proceed any further, but must submit to the force of sickness, and lie by until I should be better able to move.

CHAP. III.

I WILL here leave the course of my journey, and go back a little, to take notice of some circumstances necessary to be noted in order for you to entertain a clear idea of my present prospects, and future hopes. As the object of making provision for my family was the prevailing wish of my heart, I had flattered myself that the salary which I should receive for the school would be sufficient, with close economy, to support us, in some small state of comfort. Under this view I had proposed the plan of moving my family to Long-Island; but, previous to such a measure, my wife's father had agreed to make me a visit, to view my prospects, and then determine whether prudence would allow of such an attempt. As the money which I was to receive for the school was the only dependence which I had, I felt not very sanguine in my hopes at this time, because, as long as I should remain sick and unable to teach the school, I was earning no money; and was, moreover, involving myself in debts which must be discharged with the first money I could raise from my labors. My sickness would probably prevent my keeping the school where I had engaged, as the proprietors wished to have it opened, at furthest, by that time, and I had presumed already to overrun it by a fortnight.

I was confined, by sickness, about a week in New-London, before I found myself recruited in any measure. As I felt extremely anxious to gain intelligence relating to the school in Bridghampton, a matter on which much depended in my then present situation, I once more attempted to cross the Sound. I found the motion of the boat very irksome; and before I had reached the Long-Island side, I was again attacked with a severe visit of the fever and ague, attended with the most violent effusions of sweat immediately succeeding. After I had again arrived at Sag-Harbor, I betook myself to bed, and after the space of five or six hours found myself so far recruited as to be able to ride to Bridghampton. When I arrived at this place, I found they had engaged another instructor

despairing of my return, and he had appointed the day for opening the school.

This circumstance was a matter of great disappointment, inasmuch as I could not proceed further for want of money or health. I represented my situation of distress to the person, Johnson by name, who had engaged the school, with some hope that he would relinquish his appointment, and look for another situation; but all to no purpose. He remained steadfast in his resolution, and all entreaties were ineffectual. I now concluded my labors were at an end; that I had nothing left but to wait patiently the time of my exit from these continued scenes of wo.

> "Nor dreadful the transition; though the mind,
> An artist at creating self-alarms,
> Rich in expedients for inquietude,
> Is prone to paint it dreadful. Who can take
> Death's portrait true? The tyrant never sat.
> Our sketch all random strokes, conjecture all;
> Close shuts the grave, nor tells one single tale.
> Death, and his image, rising in the brain,
> Bear faint resemblance; never are alike;
> Fear shocks the pencil; fancy loves excess
> Dark ignorance is lavish of her shades;
> And these the formidable picture draw."

In this situation I lay two days, unable to rise from my bed. I found the people in this place desirous of my instructing their school, if they could by any means get rid of their engagement with Johnson. They had formed a favorable idea of my performance in that line by the character I had sustained in that capacity on Shelter-Island, the place being only five miles distant, and Johnson being a total stranger in the country. Therefore the people of this district sent to another part of the town, who were destitute, and wanted a schoolmaster, informing them that one was to be had by applying immediately, and mentioned Johnson as the person. It was likewise mentioned to him that application would be made from another part of the town, where the presumption was much stronger in his favor for high wages, &c. Johnson eagerly swallowed this bait, and accepted the invitation immediately after it

was given. The committee who were appointed for this purpose, learning, however, that there was another person present, who was a candidate for a schoolmaster, and who they found, was to teach the school in the middle district, provided they could get Johnson off their hands, began to query about the propriety of having the choice themselves rather than the middle district, seeing Johnson was already engagad. This motion, I found, by no means comporting with the feelings of Johnson, or the people of the middle district. He wished to take the western school, and the people of the middle district wished the same. This produced a warm altercation between the two committees; but they finally agreed upon me as the person to decide the contest; and I chose to abide where I was. This accordingly settled the dispute. What influenced my choice was, the solicitation of Johnson, who was now as anxious to leave this situation, as I was the day before to have him.

In a few days, I was so far recovered as to begin my school. My health, however, was so low as obliged me frequently to lay it by, sometimes for the space of half a day, and sometimes for a whole day. As this was a stage upon which some of the most surprising transactions were performed of any I have met with, it will be necessary to give you an idea of the leading characters of this have him.

And I will begin with a person that will appear most frequently, and who performed the most conspicuous part in those matters particularly relating to me, viz. Rev. Aaron Woolworth. He was a clergyman, settled in the ministerial office at Bridghampton, and who resided near me, during my continuance in this place. This man was about the age of eight and twenty; had been the preacher to this people about six years; had a wife and three children. His wife was the daughter of the aged and venerable Doctor Buel, minister of East Hampton, a town adjoining; and was, like her father, a person of a good natural disposition, although possessing moderate abilities. Mr. Woolworth was of small stature, diminutive in his appearance, his features somewhat irregular, but the

countenance displaying a great share of vivacity and spirit. His voice in conversation and in preaching was harsh and unharmonious. His gestures and deportment, at first view, were somewhat awkward and clumsy; but beyond this veil was soon discovered a pleasing companion, and interesting associate. His genius was brilliant; his mind was active and full of enterprise. As a reasoner, he was close and metaphysical, but as a declaimer, he was bungling and weak. His passion for an unlimited influence over the minds of his parishioners was so great, that every other feeling fell a sacrifice to it. Any circumstance that obstructed this favorite motive he sought to remove, be the consequences what they might. He was impatient of contradiction, and easily irritated. He had a thirst for associating with such characters as were rich, or who even made a splendid appearance; hence his intimate associates were the following characters, viz. Deacon Hedges, a man of extensive property, of small abilities, either natural or acquired; the whole of his information being comprised in his own circle of property. This man was avaricious in the extreme, sordid and clownish. Yet no man made more flaming pretensions to the exercises of religion than he. He ever took the lead in public worship in the absence of the clergyman. One would draw the idea from his prayers, that he really was but a sojourner in this world, seeking for another and better country; and that he viewed all things in it as dross and dung. Yet to see the same man, on another day, one would be led to conclude that this world was his god, and its goods his inheritance. I will relate one or two anecdotes concerning this man, and pass from the disagreeable picture.

At a certain time, a man from New-York had bargained for all the cheese belonging to Deacon Hedges, at the price of six pence the pound, and had paid him some earnest money, but had not taken the cheese away. A few days after, another man, on the same business, called on the Deacon, and offered him seven pence per pound. The Deacon seemed somewhat embarrassed, and to hesitate; but finally told the man that his cheese was all engaged. Upon which the man was retiring, but the Deacon observ-

ed, before he had left the house, that it was possible Mrs. Hedges might have some cheese for sale. The man stopped, and the Deacon went into another room, where he remained some time; and at length Mrs. Hedges made her appearance, and sold three thousand weight of cheese for seven pence per pound; and when the other man called for his cheese, the Deacon had but two hundred and fifty weight that he could possibly spare.

At a certain time the Deacon was sick, and apparently nigh unto death. Under this situation he was visited by a Jew, who bore him no very great affection; and was asked whether he felt himself willing to submit to the stroke of death. To which the Deacon very readily answered in the affirmative. "Vel, vel," said the Jew, "you be one very remarkable man. You be villing to die yourself, and all your neighbors be villing you should."

Judge Hurlbut occupied the second place in Mr. Woolworth's esteem. This man likewise was a person of very moderate abilities, full of religious professions, but not so careful to commend himself to the consciences of others for his honesty, as many who made no cloak of religion to cover a base heart.

Sometime in the course of last war, he was appointed an agent for the crew of a privateer sailing out of New-London, to sell the prizes, divide the money, &c. This circumstance placed property in his hands to considerable amount. At the close of the war, he left New-London, came to Long-Island, purchased a farm, erected handsome buildings, and lived in a state of splendor for a while But after I had lived on the island for the space of two years, the owners of the privateer began to lay claim to the property he had made use of, belonging to them; and he was obliged to relinquish his farm, buildings, &c. and retire into obscurity, to support himself by the exercise of his trade, being educated a saddler. With all this he did not by any means discharge his debts.

Capt. Post was the third man who made his appearance in this group. He had commanded a privateer during the war; but had not been very successful in his enterprises, owing to an extraordinary degree of caution not to be

drawn into an ambuscade by any vessel he might chance to spy during his cruising. Towards his own men he was courageous in the extreme, if tyranny and barbarity are marks of courage. Towards the enemy his heroism was not so clearly established, owing to his great caution not to be thrown into the way of its being put to the trial. However, some small prizes fell into his hands; and it was currently reported that, at least, his own share of these prizes came to his possession, besides some small *donations* from the private property of the officers who fell under his power.

At the close of the war, he found himself able to purchase, in company with two others, a brig of about 150 tons burden, in which he followed the West-India trade. It happened surprisingly, that in every voyage, he involved his owners in debt, but grew rich himself. This scene continued until one, more wary than the other, gave up the use of his part of the brig, and refused to assist in fitting her out any more. Notwithstanding, the other owner continued his aid, until he became bankrupt; and Capt. Post yet remained possessed of a considerable farm, and the most elegant buildings of any in the country. The brig was then sold, and the avails divided among the several owners. Capt. Post descended from parentage extremely low and poor; accordingly his education was rough and uncouth. Yet he possessed a strong desire to be thought a man of information and importance. This frequently led him to tell large, pompous stories, of which himself was ever the hero. He was a great swaggerer over those whom he found calculated to bear it; but to others he was supple, cringing, and mean. A man using the most rough, uncouth, and blasphemous language before those whose good opinion he did not wish to retain.

Surprising as it may seem, these three were the most intimate companions with whom Mr. Woolworth perpetually associated; which you will consider as being no very strong mark of his prudence, let his taste be ever so vitiated, or assimilated to such company. Having completed the picture of the four principal characters, it will be only necessary to give a slight sketch of a few others.

Doctor Rose, who kept a house of entertainment, was better fitted, by nature and acquirement, for a printer, than either for a physician or tavern-keeper; being the best calculated to gather and distribute *news* of any man I ever knew. He was a man of very superficial abilities in his professional character; a professed friend to every one, but sincere to none; versatile and unstable in his disposition, and a libertine in practice.

Elias Halsey, one amongst many of the same name, was a person descended from a family in moderate circumstances, who pursued a system of industry and economy, thereby obtaining a comfortable support. His education was not great; and his opportunities for learning men and manners were small: notwithstanding which, he had a genius which was brilliant, and a great thirst for information. He was a person of keen feelings, hasty passions, and a good heart. The turbulence of his passions often led him astray in the exercise of his goodness. He failed in system, and of course, was not always stable.

Deacon Cook was the leading character of a small society in this place, denominated Separates. Between these two societies there was the greatest animosity; and as Deacon Cook was the principal member of the Separates, the other party blackened his character with the vilest epithets that language could utter. He was an old gentleman, treading hard upon eighty. Time had brightened his locks with pure silver; but his age was no protection from the tongue of slander. As the line of his conduct which was open to my view, gave me a far different idea of his character, so the facts to be related hereafter will form data for your opinion in relation to the same matter.

The character of the people in this place was of the following description, viz. uniform, contracted, and uninformed. Economy was practised here, upon the closest system, by far, of any with which I was ever acquainted. Necessity, in a measure, produced this effect. The people were so extremely attached to their own modes and customs, that it produced a fondness for their own society and disrelish to other customs, beyond parallel; hence emigration from their internal population was less fre-

quent here, than in places elsewhere. Therefore the country had become populous, and the soil so exhausted as not to be luxuriant. The land was generally divided into small parcels amongst the proprietors, from forty to ten acres. Under these circumstances, rather than emigrate into those parts where land was in greater plenty, they contented themselves with living close, poor, and careful. Notwithstanding, they were a people under thriving circumstances, every one living within his income, be it ever so small; and their poor-tax was the smallest, for so populous a place, of any on the continent. Could useful manufactories be introduced, and three quarters of the inhabitants turn their attention to them, retaining their industry and economy, I do not know the place where they could be made more profitable, as labor and provisions are extremely cheap for cash. The means for acquiring property here are few, and very simple; no mechanical branches being pursued, but barely to answer the necessities of the inhabitants, such as shoe-making, tailoring, and blacksmithing; all other pursuits being common hand labor.

This people are at the lowest ebb in their improvements, either in agriculture, manufacture, or domestic economy. They are the genuine picture of ancient times, when their land was first settled by its white inhabitants. These effects are produced, in a great degree, by their insular situation.

Among these people I was about beginning my career again upon the active stage of life; and to establish a line of business which should render me a support for myself and family. I accordingly commenced my operations under such circumstances as will better appear to you from what I have related, than by what I can, by any other means, describe. I had not, at best, any glaring prospect of accumulating an independent property.

After I had pursued the business of instructing this school about three weeks, my wife's father, according to agreement, came to Bridghampton. My school at this time was crowded with scholars, and the prospects were fair; yet my name and character were veiled in secrecy, and what would be the event of the disclosure of this mat-

ter was still a doubt; and to remove my family to Bridgehampton must, in its natural effect, finally reveal it. Therefore it was thought best for my father-in-law to lay open this circumstance, together with my general history, to the people, in order to see its operation, previous to my family's coming to me. Accordingly we pitched upon Mr. Woolworth as a proper person to whom we should unfold this matter, and consult him further what was to be done.

We accordingly waited on Mr. Woolworth, to whom I introduced my father, and left them together. I tarried away about two hours, and then returned; and found that the whole matter had been laid open, to which Mr. Woolworth had given a favorable ear; and promised his assistance during the time I should choose to remain among *his* people. His influence, I knew, was weighty, and would be of the utmost consequence. It was thought best to call a meeting of the proprietors of the school that evening, and for Mr. Woolworth to be present, and lay open the whole matter to them. This plan was accordingly put into execution, and the most favorable consequences apparently produced.

However, I found that the world was in a state of ferment, at the recital of this strange news. The people on Shelter-Island had found themselves thrown out in all their conjectures. Uncle Jim was abashed; Doctor Havens was confounded. Judge Havens was the only man who appeared unmoved in the general tumult. A letter I received a few days after will give you a better idea of the matter, than any thing else.* This was a fine subject for

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Nov. 14th, 1791.

*SIR,

I have thought that it would not be uninteresting or disagreeable to you to receive some account of a remarkable event which hath happened here since you left us. You must know that, not long since, a remarkable phenomenon appeared within our hemisphere. But this was not any thing which was to be seen in the starry heavens; but was confined altogether to our mother earth, and partook of the *moral* world as well as the *natural*; and was conveyed to us by water; and might properly be designated by the term *character*; the particulars of which I will detail to you.

the relish of Doctor Rose. He had full employ for a number of days, and actually grew fleshy under the pleasing effect. People flocked to his house for information.

He was the son of a clergyman of reputation, and born in Leadenhall-street in London; and received his education in the London schools, where he was taught Latin, English grammar, arithmetic, and various other branches of science; was patronised by Mr. ——, a gentleman of great distinction in that city, and who represented the city in Parliament; and had lived six years in a compting-house, with merchants who carried on the Russia trade; and at some time in the late American war, his worthy friend and patron, Mr. ——, had entered into the laudable scheme of attempting, in some degree, to emancipate the Irish, and relieve them from the intolerable burden of the British yoke; and, to effect this purpose, had written a pamphlet, entitled, "The political necromancer, or the popish plot detected," which he, the above mentioned character, had copied off in his own hand writing, and had privately caused fifty thousand copies of it to be printed and dispersed all over Ireland; which had, in a great measure, the desired effect. The Irish were roused, and the English obliged to make concessions. This conduct had greatly incensed the British ministry. The pamphlet was deemed a libel; and the author of it, when discovered, was sure to suffer the utmost vengeance of the British government. For a long time this remained undiscovered, but was at last disclosed by a journeyman printer; and our character was obliged suddenly to leave his nearest and dearest connexions, and take refuge in a foreign country, to save his worthy friend and patron. Chance throwed him in the way of his friend Capt. ——, who brought him out to Nova-Scotia, where a thousand guineas reward were offered for him by the governor. But his friend provided means to convey him privately by water into the American lines. Here he suffered a dismal disaster; for the Captain who was desired to do this, behaved like a villain, and robbed him of his chest, in which were all his clothes and money, and in particular some bills of exchange on a noted house in Baltimore; and then sat him on shore, forlorn and destitute; and, to add to his afflictions, he was obliged, the ensuing night, to walk thirty miles through mud and mire barefooted, and in a dreary dismal way, to avoid a horrid plot which had been laid to entrap him. He was conveyed from thence by a friendly Captain, to Rhode-Island, and had now taken shelter in our Isle, and wished our protection and friendship. To some of his more intimate friends, he hinted that he had left behind him in England, a connexion of the tenderest kind, a young lady of the most amiable qualities and exalted virtues, with whom he was on the eve of a marriage. To this account I will add some description of his person. He was tall, handsome, genteel and agreeable in conversation and manners; appeared to be a man of reading and extensive infe-

He was never weary in stating in order, in opening and expounding, the whole of the news on this extraordinary circumstance. Notwithstanding my school flourished, and all things seemed to subside into a peaceful calm.

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mation; was well acquainted with the world; and the natural endowment of his mind appeared to be such as might render him an ornament to the country in which he lived, and a useful citizen. To the public he appeared in the double capacity of the *Philanthropist*, calling upon all mankind "to co-operate with him," in the establishment of the principle of universal benevolence, on the ruins of superstition; and of an *Observer*, to support his works against the rude assaults of criticism. Various was the opinion of the public concerning this character; some supposed it not at all founded in truth. All seemed to entertain suspicion. For my own part, I reasoned on the subject to myself, and said, "It cannot surely be possible that so many natural endowments should be wholly destitute of the moral sense; but perhaps the truth may be, that he is some person of our country, who hath been to England, and hath left it suddenly on account of some swindling trick." But in the midst of this variety of speculations upon a character so new and extraordinary, how sudden and surprising the change! Fame opened one of the doors of her temple, and from the north-eastern corner of our hemisphere, blasted upon him with her trumpet, and suddenly this pleasing character "vanished like the baseless fabric of a vision," and in its room was exhibited another of the most hideous kind! A thousand rumors floated upon a thousand tongues, and every one of these was infamy! He had committed a rape! had counterfeited money! was a notorious cheat; was a liar; was a rascal; was a villain! had committed theft; had stolen a watch and suit of clothes from a clergyman; had dared to assume the sacred function when he was unworthy; murder and sodomy were alone excepted from the black catalogue of his crimes. I have heard of him before, said one; I know all about him, says another; His whole life has been one series of enormity, cries a third; he has been disgraced by his public punishments as well as his crimes, says a fourth. In the midst of this uproar, being actuated by the principles of philanthropy, and from a conviction that he had not yet abandoned himself, I determined to stand the poor man's friend in the hour of his distress and calamity. Stop, gentlemen, say I, stay your rage; pray hearken to reason. The devil is not so bad as his picture.—"But he has committed a rape certainly," says one. "Not quite so bad neither," say I, (and then endeavor to extenuate it by saying that it did not amount to a force, and that I understood that the young woman swore falsely to plaster over her reputation)—"But he has counterfeited money, and been a notorious cheat," says another. "Something of this kind has perhaps happened," say I, "but this was owing to his extreme necessities"

At this time I had in money but one half dollar, and no other property to help myself, excepting the anticipation of my wages. With this I hired a house for my family,

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"The rascal has called himself an Englishman all this while," says a third. "He only forgot to insert the word *new*," say I; "he is a New Englishman."—"The villain has altered his name," says a fourth. "He sprung from Eden," say I, "and therefore may, with propriety enough, be called Eden's son." "He is a d—d liar," cries one, "his head is a perfect magazine of lies."—"You ought to consider that having laid a wrong foundation, when he came to build up his superstructure upon it, and embellish the building, and ornament it in all its parts, these must necessarily be wrong likewise." To one and all I say, "the gentleman has been in a wrong road for some time; but I am inclined to believe that he has turned short about, and has now come into the right path; he is now at the bottom of the hill, pray give the man a chance to come up again, and get upon a level with his fellow-citizens." By arguments like these, at one time facetious, at another time serious, I endeavor to smooth over every difficulty, and make every circumstance appear as favorable as possible. This, I think, is acting according to the true principles of benevolence and philanthropy; and I doubt not that in future he will "co-operate with me" to render these exertions in his favor of the most lasting benefit to himself, and to his nearest and dearest connexions. You will perhaps wonder why I should so far interest myself in this person's good or ill fortune. This requires some explanation. You must know then, that the secret of his birth and character was, by a private communication, made known unto me for a long time before it was known in this part of the country. It was evening when I first received this intelligence, and notwithstanding my former suspicions, I was struck with grief and astonishment. How, said I, art thou fallen! fallen like lightning from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning! All thy anxieties and fear lest Sir John Temple should discover thy being in this country, are no more! No longer shalt thou dread the malice and persecution of thy British enemies! No longer shalt thou dread the effects of a British outlawry! The doctrine concerning libels shall no longer prove thy ruin! The mighty fabric which thy imagination hath been so long building, shall soon vanish, like the morning dream, and pass away, with the years beyond the flood. How will the *sons* and *daughters* of the uncircumcised triumph when they come to hear of this! Tell it not in Gath! Publish it not in Askelon! With thoughts and reflections like these was my troubled mind tossed to and fro almost the whole of the ensuing night. I put the case of this unfortunate stranger home to myself, and my breast was touched with sympathy and compassion. How easy, said I, is it for a man to go from one step to another in the paths of vice, until he is brought to the brink of de-

of Mr. Elias Halsey, the person aforementioned, and bought 126 lb. of beef, 140 lb. of pork, two bushels of Indian corn, and one of rye, with six cords of wood for my winter's store. With this provision for my family I remained till they arrived, which was about the beginning of winter; and my wife brought money only sufficient to defray her expenses till she had crossed the Sound, and arrived on the island. My health, at this time, was again on the decline. Pulmonary complaints had taken hold of me, and constant fever attended, together with great effusions of sweat immediately after closing my eyes in sleep, which were so great as to drench the sheets in which I lay.

At this time I had opened an evening school, and thirty scholars attended. When I used to dismiss the school at ten o'clock in the evening, I would find myself exhausted to such a degree that I could scarcely reach home; and it would seem that I should never again enter the schoolhouse; but this was the only mean in my power for the support of my family. Wretchedness stared me

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struction! How often have I, by my imprudence and folly, needed the forgiveness of others, and shall I not be of the like disposition towards him? Shall man, poor vile man, vain of his own self-righteousness and virtues, presume to be less merciful than his Maker? "But," said prudence, "Perhaps this man, for whom you have so great sympathy, has abandoned himself to all manner of vice and immorality, and deserves not the pity or compassion of others. There is nothing impossible in this; and if he should return here again, perhaps you had better join in the public clamor against him, lest your own character should be contaminated." "No," said I, "it is possible the contrary may be the case, and I will give him a generous credit for his future virtues." With thoughts like these was I deprived of rest until my mind found consolation in the following ejaculatory prayer: "O thou Preserver of men! deliver him from all those sins which do most easily beset him. Bring him back into the right road. Restore him to himself, and to his friends, and to his country: and if he should again return to seek our protection, grant that he may no longer be stigmatized and scandalized as the vilest of men; and may no cold or formal reserve prevent me from giving him friendly and decent admonition. If it be thy holy will and pleasure, may I be the happy instrument of reclaiming him; and may Jesus of Nazareth wipe all his damn stains away.

Mr. Stephen Burroughs.

in the face. When I stopped the school, absolute want was close at my heels. Therefore in the morning I would again renew my endeavors to attend to business. This scene continued for six months; every night despairing, and every morning renewing my efforts; and, strange to tell, I remained about at one, neither better nor worse; and continued every day in school, from nine in the morning till ten at night.

I found the winter on this island uncommonly severe. The surface of the ground is extremely level, and no intervening hills or woods to break the force of the wind coming in from sea; hence it becomes the most subject to violent uncomfortable winds of any place I ever saw. In addition to this, the buildings on the island are set up high from the ground, without any underpinning or banking, and not very tight, and, of course, are very cold, being thus unfortified against the winter. In addition to all this, my wife was put to bed this winter, of our second son, and of course, our family was increased with additional expenses. Notwithstanding the six cords of wood, together with the provision in the first place, had reached to the utmost extent of my finances, a few potatoes excepted; and I could not, till the month of April, replenish my store.

These were times to which I now look back with astonishment, and wonder how I lived; how we kept soul and body together. Yet I went through, and continue now perhaps as well as though I had lived in the palace of a king, feasting on the rich viands of his table. For my own part, my state of infirm health precluded the necessity of much food.

At the opening of the spring, Doctor Havens put four of his children under my care, and they continued with me for the space of two years; to whom I paid unwearied attention for their advancement in literary acquirements. The Doctor now again renewed all his former professions of friendship; and called on me constantly to enliven the declarations of esteem. However, my neighbors and acquaintance constantly warned me against the connexion, alledging that I never should close my accounts with the

Doctor without difficulty. I observed, with some surprise, that he did not attend to settle his quarter bills; yet I could not give credit to these admonitions, until bitter experience taught me the lesson.

During this time I had formed a most agreeable and intimate acquaintance with Mr. Woolworth I found him a man of very pleasing parts, and an entertaining companion. His conduct on my first acquaintance had endeared him to my feelings; and his after treatment had confirmed and increased those sensations. I also became acquainted with Mr. Dagget, minister of Southampton, who had written so spiritedly against the "Philanthropist." By these two clergymen I was violently attacked upon the subject of the ideas there manifested; but not feeling any strong desire for the support of the sentiments given out, and likewise knowing the pieces to have been written in an unguarded manner, I waved the challenge to combat, and did not enter the lists with these knight-errants.

Some time after this interview, I fell in company with these same gentlemen again, when they attacked me with more determinate resolution to bring me into action; but I still kept them at bay, without closing in the contest. Seeing this, they demanded of me my religious sentiments. Not complying immediately with their demand, they accused me of Universalism, than which nothing could be more criminal in their view. This was a circumstance of which they had been somewhat jealous, owing to my wife's father being strongly in that sentiment However, their accusation produced no discovery, and we parted no wiser than before. Yet the whisper circulated in some measure among a few particular characters, that I was suspected of entertaining sentiments of universal salvation; until a good old lady, who had heard the report put them all to silence by observing, that "he can't be a Universaller, for he is quite a civil man."

At the opening of spring I found myself in a situation from my salary, to provide for my family in some little state of comfort, superior to what we had enjoyed the winter preceding. We saw our little ones smiling around us, and a prospect of being able to provide for them com

fortably. Do you, sir, know this pleasure? Indeed, you do not; you cannot. You never yet saw the time when you expected your little ones to perish before your eyes, or otherwise be thrown upon a barbarous world for charity, whose cold approach suffers thousands to droop and die, before she extends her hand to their relief. This I have seen. I have felt these truths. I have shuddered with horror at the prospect. I have wished myself and family at rest in the silent grave. Under such circumstances my soul revolted at the idea of a long life. Horror stalked around my dwelling. Wild dismay was my pillow companion. The most excruciating agony perpetually harrowed my almost exhausted spirits. To be relieved from such a situation; to see these frightful images chased from my view; to see all these threatening dangers past and gone, brought on a situation, of all others, the most calculated to render me sensible of my present felicity; and to give me those feelings under it, which no other person can experience, unless his situation had been similar to mine.

My school, through the winter, had been large, and had made rapid proficiency in learning. Satisfaction was the necessary consequent among all my constituents; and prosperity was now the general prospect. One circumstance seemed but slightly to interrupt this harmony. The evening school, which continued through the winter, was composed of elder members, who wished to perfect their education by attending to mathematics, geography, and rhetoric. In paying attention to the latter, they had committed to memory a comedy of "a bold stroke for a wife." After practicing it for a while in private, they formed a purpose to exhibit the performance in public. As there was no situation, the meeting-house excepted, convenient for such an exhibition, it was determined, after consulting some of the leading men in the parish, to have the comedy performed in the meeting-house. It was accordingly performed before a crowded audience.

Deacon Hedges had not been consulted on this business. He lived in a remote part of the town. He was much offended at the circumstance. He viewed the house *pol-*

luted in consequence of the performance. But this difficulty died away, without much flowing from it of any kind

As I have heretofore hinted, the people on this island were very illiterate, making but a small calculation for information, further than the narrow circle of their own business extended. They were almost entirely destitute of books of any kind, except school books and bibles; hence, those who had a taste for reading, had not the opportunity. I found a number of those young people who had attended my evening school, possessing bright abilities, and a strong thirst for information, which would lead to rapid improvement, had they the opportunity. Therefore, under circumstances like these, I felt very desirous to devise some method to remove the evil. It was a subject of frequent conversation with the various characters into whose company I happened to fall. No plan, however, was yet adopted. I mentioned the expedience of a Sunday school. That idea was immediately rejected, on the principle of its being unprecedented in the place. I proposed to devote Saturdays for the instruction of those who could not attend through the week; but that trenched too hard upon the economical system. I endeavored to persuade the young people to buy books; but the greater part being yet minors, that could not be effected without the assistance of their parents, which assistance could not be expected on accouut of the *expense*. I finally thought of using my endeavors to persuade the people into the expediency of raising money for the purpose of collecting a number of books for the use of the young people of the district. I laid this plan before Mr. Woolworth for advice. I had often conversed with him on the subject before. He did not encourage me in the pursuit. He said the people would not consent to it; that they had no idea of the benefit of books, or of a good education; "and you cannot persuade them to any thing that is *new*, or that is attended with *expense*. I have tried this matter myself. I have had the assistance of Judge Hurlbut; but all did not effect the purpose; a library they would not have. I believe our influence is much greater with the people than yours.

Under these discouraging prospects I had about relinquished the idea (though reluctantly) of attempting any plan to assist the young people to procure a tolerable education. I was in conversation one evening with Mr. Halsey upon this subject. He was a man of shrewd discernment and excellent judgment. "Mr. Burroughs, (said he) I have for some time observed your attention to the welfare of your school with some surprise. It has not been thus with former school-masters. They have ever manifested a desire to do as little for the school as they could consistent with their engagements. I am sensible of the advantage of such a plan as you propose, of having a collection of books for the common use of the district. I wish you may succeed in your friendly endeavors. I believe you may, if you pursue right methods. Mr. Woolworth, it is true, has made sundry attempts to to establish a library in this town; but a number of circumstances have been unfavorable to his plan. In the first place, he has made the price of a share much too high; in the room of forty shillings it ought to be twenty. The people in general will then likely become proprietors; and for such people the library ought to be established, because they are not able to supply themselves with books in any other way. We who are ignorant of the benefit of a library, may be willing to risk twenty shillings; but forty would terrify us.

"Another reason why Mr. Woolworth has not succeeded is, that people are afraid they shall not be gratified in such books as they want, so long as he has the lead of the business. They generally expect the library will consist of books in divinity, and dry metaphysical writings; whereas, should they be assured that histories and books of information would be procured, I have no doubt they might be prevailed upon to raise money sufficient for such a purpose."

These hints from Mr. Halsey were clear in my view, and his reasoning decisive. I determined to improve from it, and once more renew my plan and exertions. As Mr. Woolworth was my counsellor in all matters of moment, I again made application to him, and sketched out the plan

for his opinion. He still manifested his doubts about my succeeding. He added, "Certainly, you cannot expect your influence among this people to be equal to mine. I have tried the project faithfully, and have not succeeded." However, after reasoning with him upon the subject for the space of two hours, he ended with this observation—"If you find that *you* have influence enough among the people to effect your purpose, I will become a member of *your* library." Thus we parted.

CHAP. IV.

HAVING now a little leisure on hand, owing to a school vacation, I determined to devote that time to the purpose of visiting the people of the district, and offering and urging upon them my plan for a library. Much to my satisfaction, I found the people willing to grant their aid to this business, after I had informed them into the nature of such books as should be procured, and into the advantages such a matter would afford them. However, I had to renew my promises often, before they could feel certain that their money would be appropriated to the purchase of histories, &c.

In the space of a few days I had raised forty pounds, which I supposed adequate to the purpose first intended. I then applied to Mr. Woolworth for his share of the money, and to inform him of my success. I felt a degree of exultation in the hope of surprising him in the most agreeable manner, with the news of my succeeding so happily. But what was my astonishment and dismay, when in a cold disdainful manner he observed, "that I was very officious to gain influence among *his* people." However, he paid his money, and we parted with feelings, on my side, very different from what they were when I was going on this visit.

I immediately advertised the proprietors of the library to hold a meeting for the purpose of selecting a catalogue of books, and to make rules for the government of a library, &c. At the day appointed we all met. After we had

entered into some desultory conversation upon the business, it was proposed and agreed to choose a committee of five, to make choice of books. Mr. Woolworth, myself, Deacon Cook, Doctor Rose, and one Matthews, were chosen a committee for this purpose. Immediately after we had entered upon business, Mr. Woolworth produced a catalogue of books of his own selection, and told the meeting that he had consulted all the catalogues of the bookstores in New-York, and had chosen the best out of them all for this library; and called for a vote upon his motion. The meeting voted in the affirmative; upon which he proposed to proceed upon the business of forming rules for the regulation of the library.

I now felt myself in a most disagreeable and delicate situation. Mr. Woolworth was a character, of all others, I would not willingly disoblige. To take any measures to stop his extraordinary efforts, I knew, would offend him in the highest manner; and to remain a silent spectator would be at once renouncing every claim to integrity, inasmuch as I had promised the proprietors positively, that histories, and books of information upon secular subjects, should give the leading cast to the complexion of the library. Mr. Woolworth was fully availed of this circumstance. His reasoning, as it appeared to me, was after this manner, (viz.) that as the support of myself and family depended on my school, and as his influence was so considerable that he could essentially injure me in that respect, he therefore concluded that I would sacrifice every other consideration to my present support; and would not, of consequence, dare provoke his resentment by opposing his measures with regard to the choice of books for the library. If that should be the case, the people who had placed confidence in me would see it delusory, and that I would not or could not be instrumental in aiding their measures when opposed to him. The natural consequence flowing from such a circumstance, would be to appreciate him, and depreciate me in their view; a matter which now lay near his heart, fearful that my growing influence would lead the attention of the people from him to other objects.

The contempt with which he treated me, as a member of the committee, together with the rest, was what I would have submitted to, with patience, on my own account. But when I viewed all the other members silent under the indignity, Mr. Woolworth not deigning to consult any upon his catalogue, I found the imperious hand of necessity laid upon me to advocate the cause of those who had paid their money on the faith of my promise.

I requested the favor of Mr. Woolworth to see the catalogue he had selected. After running it through, I perceived that the conjectures of the people had not been ill founded respecting the choice he would make for them. His catalogue consisted wholly of books upon the subject of ethics; and did not contain a single history, or any thing of the kind. I observed, in the mildest manner, that this catalogue was essentially different from the minds of the people, or else I had misunderstood them; that I was apprehensive they did not understand themselves when they passed the vote; but that should the mistake lie on my side of the question, I was willing to stand corrected; yet, at least, we had deviated from the first plan. Upon this Mr. Woolworth observed, that "he hoped *his* people were not dependent on *me* to know their own wishes; that he wished I had modesty enough not to consider myself spokesman for *his* people; that he believed *he* was as well acquainted with them, and understood what books would suit them as I did."

You will naturally conclude that observations like these had no very pleasing effect upon my feelings. I was determined, however, not to be bullied out of countenance until I had reached the mark for which I had started, which was to learn the feelings of the meeting, and to act accordingly. Mr. Woolworth was moderator, and consequently, I could not call for the minds of the people collectively by a vote; but applied to the members individually, and asked them if they were satisfied with the vote they had just passed; to which they universally answered in the negative.

When Mr. Woolworth found them decidedly against their own vote, he plead for an adjournment, which was

readily granted, and the meeting was adjourned for a week. After the present meeting was ended, a number of the members came to my house to consult upon the business in private, which they dare not advocate openly against Mr. Woolworth. I found they were somewhat surprised at my daring to speak publicly against the measures of *the minister*.

A few days after, there was a general collection of people, on account of a woman who was delirious, absconding, and hiding herself in the fields. Mr. Woolworth and myself met together on this occasion, for the first time since our library meeting. He attacked me with some warmth, on account of my conduct in opposing him, and told me decidedly, that should I not withdraw my motion at the next meeting of the proprietors of the library, and remain silent, I should there find things that would make me tremble ; and that I must lay my account soon to leave the country. During this conversation, Judge Hurlbut joined us, and began to address me in the following manner: "Mr. Burroughs, do you expect to come here among us, and attempt to direct our matters, and set yourself up above all the first men in the country, after we had taken pity upon you, a poor miserable vagabond, turned out of all countries where you have resided, and a disgrace to the people among whom you ever lived?"

An address like this, I apprehended, was calculated to affect the feelings of any man who had feelings, and at the same time manifested such a disposition as sunk Judge Hurlbut into abject contempt, in my view. I found, by this time, a clamor raised, which filled the neighboring towns, that I was trying to fill the library with books of corrupt principles ; and more especially with the writings of Deists and Universalists ; and consequently was determined to shut out all good books. This declaration was constantly in the mouths of Judge Hurlbut and Mr. Woolworth.

Matters were in this situation at the appointed time of the adjourned meeting. I found that a large number of members were added to the body of proprietors ; so that by this time, the whole number amounted to nearly or

quite a hundred. This had taken place by the instrumentality of Mr. Woolworth, who had spent a great part of the week of adjournment to gain new members, in order to give himself a majority among them, by the addition of his friends, and more particularly such as he deemed influential.

The meeting was opened by Mr. Woolworth, who stated to them the excellency of his own collection of books, and the vile means I had used to make contention and division among his people. He was about calling for a vote of the meeting, when I endeavored to gain a hearing, but to no purpose. He proceeded to put his motion to vote; and, to his infinite mortification, saw but fifteen hands raised. He did not call for the contrary. I then found an opportunity to address myself to the meeting, and stated to them my reasons for wishing for a collection of books in the first place; the methods I had taken, and the plans I had pursued; but added, "As the business has now become much more extensive than I, at first, had entertained the most remote idea, I think the plan of the library ought likewise to be extended, and more latitude given in the choice of books, that we may, in this way, gratify the taste of every member, making this the leading object of attention, to obtain such books generally as are most conformable to the taste of the majority of the society. I have made a selection from a number of catalogues of such books as appeared to me suitable to the first design of this institution: however, I did not proceed so far in this choice as I should have done, had I known of the considerable addition which has now taken place. I will read to you, gentlemen, the title of the books, and then describe them to you in a summary way. Should any book be thought of by any one, which he may wish to have introduced, I think it reasonable for him to have the privilege, so far as his money will extend in the purchase, to introduce his book, when no special objection shall lie in the way."

After I had ended these observations, I proceeded to read the titles of the books. After a course of time, I came to "Brooks' writings:" at which Mr. Woolworth declared that to be a book, together with the others, totally inad-

missible: "for," said he, "no one can understand it, he writes upon such subjects, and in such an obscure manner; and all Burroughs' books are of the same cast." Knowing that the "Fool of Quality" had been read by some present, I made the appeal to them, whether that was a book obscurely written. At this question Mr. Woolworth started, and demanded if Brooks was the author of the "Fool of Quality." For so ignorant was this critic, that he did not know the books he undertook to condemn.

After I had finished my catalogue, this method was finally proposed, and adopted, (viz.) that two others should be added to the committee, and that the meeting should be adjourned again for a week, to give the members of the committee time for information; that another meeting should again be held, and a choice of books made after the following manner, viz. that each member of the committee should have a negative upon any book which was offered for admission, and thus proceed until all were satisfied with the books.

During the time of adjournment the clamor still increased against the books which I had offered for the library. Mr. Woolworth and Judge Hurlbut were in a state of great activity on this subject, and their perpetual cry was, "that I was endeavoring to overthrow all religion, morality and order in the place; was introducing corrupt books into the library, and adopting the most fatal measures to overthrow all the *good old establishments*."

At the next meeting, the different members of the committee had collected a catalogue of books, peculiar to their own taste. Deacon Hedges brought forward, "Essays on the Divine authority for Infant Baptism," "Terms of Church Communion," "The Careful Watchman," "Age of Grace," &c. &c. all pamphlets.—Deacon Cook's collection was, "History of Martyrs," "Rights of Conscience," "Modern Pharisees," "Defence of Separates," &c.—Mr. Woolworth exhibited "Edwards against Chauncey," "History of Redemption," "Jenning's View," &c. Judge Hurlbut concurred in the same. Doctor Rose exhibited, "Gay's Fables," "Pleasing Companion," "Turkish Spy;" while I for the third time recommended "Hume's

History," "Voltaire's Histories," "Rollin's Ancient History," "Plutarch's Lives," &c. I carefully avoided, from the beginning, offering any books of the sectarian kind, or that would have a tendency to lead the readers into religious disputes.

After we had assembled together, we chose Dr. Rose for our clerk, and on his being appointed, Mr. Woolworth proceeded to order him to insert in his entries, books of his own choice, without even deigning to hear the opinion of any other member of the committee upon them. I endeavored several times to call his attention to the books of my catalogue, but in vain. Doctor Rose proceeded to obey his orders with punctual exactness until Mr. Woolworth had finished his catalogue. He then addressed the meeting, and told them that the *committee* had made choice of the catalogue of books then presented, and called for a vote of the meeting whether they would accept it. They voted in the affirmative.

After the vote was passed, I arose and addressed myself to the meeting in the following manner : "Gentlemen, it is with no small degree of pain I have been a spectator of what has passed at this meeting. I have here seen a departure from every principle of propriety in the choice of your library, and you giving countenance to it by your vote. I in the first place felt anxious to befriend you in the collection of a small number of books for your use. I consulted your feelings and interest in the matter, and promised you my faithful support in promoting such a choice as you would desire. In obedience to my promise, I have pursued such measures as to incur the highest displeasure of Mr. Woolworth and associates, and subjected myself to the highest insults, to the most virulent lash of slander and malignity, and to the threats of being turned out of town with infamy and disgrace; all these evils I could have borne with patience, because I have the consolation of doing what I ought, and likewise knowing that truth must finally triumph over error; but to see you relinquish thus tamely those privileges which you have manifested such a desire for, and which are so clearly your right, is a circumstance truly mortifying. However, as

this is the second instance of the kind, I think myself clearly absolved from my first engagement to procure you books according to your taste. I truly feel very much disappointed in the loss of my object, and therefore shall decline any longer considering myself a member of the library. As I have the money in my hands, every member may receive it again, when he requests it. You cannot then complain that your money has been applied to uses contrary to your wishes. In thus doing I acquit myself of every obligation which my promise had laid me under to you. I wish you may profit by your library ; I wish it may claim the attention of all classes, more particularly the younger, and inspire them with a thirst for information and improvement ; but I fear that these consequences will not so readily follow, as I once expected. In the room of hurting the institution, I promise you, gentlemen, that I will give it every aid which I can consistently. A poor library is better than none."

After I had closed, Mr. Woolworth replied in the severest and most pointed terms. He observed "that I had very generously promised my aid to his library. He wished me to remember that my aid was not wished for. They felt perfectly able to manage without me, and if I would not consider myself of so much consequence in that place, I might meet with better treatment." He likewise demanded the money which I held to be delivered over to him and not to the individuals. However, his demands were not complied with. I gave each member his money, and departed.

In the course of this evening, about half the members of the library came to my house, and desired me to take their money and send to New York for such books as were contained in my first catalogue, observing, that Mr. Woolworth's collection was such, that they would not be members of his library. I demanded why they voted for it, so long as it was contrary to their wishes ; their answer was, that they were loth to offend Mr. Woolworth, for if they did, he could *out talk* them. I consented to their proposal, but observed, that probably the other society would send to New-York for their books, and we might, by purchasing

the whole together, obtain them cheaper, and after the books arrived, then each library receive its own. This idea met with their approbation, and it was agreed upon that I should, the next morning, wait on Mr. Woolworth, and lay the plan before him.

I considered Mr. Woolworth the morning preceding, as much out of temper, so far as not to treat me with common decency; how he would feel and conduct this morning was a matter of some doubt in my mind; however, I was determined to observe such measures towards him as to make it manifest that still the remains of gratitude were sufficiently strong in my heart, to act upon the most friendly terms. I was very sensible that the plan which I was about laying before him would embrace his interest as well as mine, and that there could not be any reasonable objection to it.

When I arrived at his house, I found that time had by no means cooled his rage. He there said and performed actions which, for the honor of the cloth and of human nature, I do not choose to repeat. He utterly refused to pay any attention to my proposition. He threatened me with immediate expulsion from the place, provided I did not retrench my measures, or if I proceeded to purchase the books for those who had left his library. My answer to these many threats was of the following tenor. "I feel myself, Mr. Woolworth, founded upon too just a principle to be subject to the motive of fear, therefore you will save yourself some fruitless labor to drop that subject and never resume it. One circumstance has weight on my mind, in my conduct towards you. When I first came into this town, you then conducted towards me like a friend. I then stood in need of assistance. I felt the benefit of your kindness; I felt grateful on the occasion; I ever have most sincerely wished to manifest those sentiments by the most friendly line of conduct towards you. I still wish it. Therefore I conjure you, for your own sake, for the sake of my enjoying those sensations of pleasure which will naturally flow from acts of benevolence, that you would conduct so as to leave it in my power to shew a friendly part towards you.

"You cannot but be sensible that self-preservation is the first law of nature, and if you continue as you have done, to use every effort to injure me in the public opinion, it is a duty I owe myself and family to justify my conduct to the public, and this ultimately will be at your expense, for if they entertain an idea of my conduct as being founded in justice, they will of course, consider you as a false accuser, malignant character, and revengeful person. How such an idea will operate, you must be sensible, if your passion for revenge has not wholly deprived you of reflection. Finally, sir, I wish to be in such a situation as not to injure you either directly or indirectly."

After I had closed my observations, I saw a sneer of contempt sitting on his countenance; he answered, "You wish not to injure me? I despise your exertions. What do you think you can do, you poor miserable wretch! towards injuring me? I suppose you wish for me to make terms with you; you forget yourself, that you are a miserable fugitive and exile from your own country, and here by the means of my protection."

I left the house of Mr. Woolworth hopeless and melancholy. To see the effects of his ungovernable rage, was an object truly distressiug to any feeling mind. To see him thus blindly pursuing his own ruin to gratify his revenge, especially being a clegyman, the professed ambassador of the King of Peace, was an object of contemplation of the most disagreeable kind.

I grant the deed
Is madness; but the madness of the heart.
And what is that? Our utmost bound of guilt.
A sensual unreflecting life is big
With monstrous births, and suicide, to crown
The black infernal brood.

I made report to the members of our library that the object which we first contemplated was now entirely out of the question, and that it was necessary of consequence to have a meeting in order to take further measures for our own internal regulations, and procuring the books in question. A meeting accordingly was warned to be held

at my house the third night succeeding, where the members accordingly met, and we were proceeding on business, when Mr. Woolworth came among us. He did not now appear with that overbearing haughtiness which he had at first assumed. He seemed moderate and rational. He observed that he was apprehensive our measures were not calculated for the general good. "While we are pursuing the object of two libraries I fear we shall fail in both; being divided, we shall in our operations militate against each other, and finally both come to the ground." In answer to this we observed, "that every idea we entertained on the subject was to purchase such books with our money as we wished for. This was a right which we inherited from nature, and which we did not intend to give up; and so long as we could not be indulged in this privilege in company with him, we had separated and set up by ourselves; yet we were willing to purchase our books together; nay more, have them all kept in one library, if that were thought most expedient, so that after we had read our books, they might have the privilege of them, so far as they esteemed it a privilege, and we of theirs under similar circumstances."

To these remarks Mr. Woolworth answered, that he felt himself entirely contented with them, and further observed, that he would use all his influence with the other members of the committee to have our proposals acceded to, on condition of our remaining still with regard to the purchase of the books, until the sitting of the committee, which would be in about a week. We readily complied with these proposals, and consequently all further proceedings were at present suspended.

At the sitting of the committee, I came forward with our proposals, without entertaining the least doubt of their being readily acceded to; but, sir, imagine my astonishment when I heard Mr. Woolworth reprobate the idea in the most pointed manner, in open violation of his positive promise to the contrary. He insisted upon it, that it was departing from the dignity of their character to form a coalition with malecontents; that it was contrary to their powers to admit such books into the library; and finally,

that no other way remained but for us to pay our money into their hands, and rest the business with them to buy such books as they should choose. I expostulated with Mr. Woolworth upon such a line of conduct; upon its unreasonableness and absurdity; but all to no effect. He tenaciously adhered to his first position, and I finally proposed the expediency of calling another meeting of the proprietors, and laying the business before them. This was equally opposed; but the rest of the committee now began to even dare to dissent in opinion from Mr. Woolworth, and a meeting of the proprietors was accordingly warned.

About this time the term of my engagement, as a school-master, was now expired, and Mr. Woolworth and Judge Hurlbut made a visit to all the inhabitants of the district, in order to dissuade them from engaging me again; however, this visit produced no effect; my school again was full, and matters went on as usual in that line.

At the meeting of the proprietors it was proposed and readily agreed to on our side, though with great reluctance on the part of Mr. Woolworth, to fling by every thing which had been done, and begin anew. Mr. Woolworth had brought forward at this time a collection of books much better than formerly, having taken about twenty out of the catalogue which I had at first exhibited. This collection I generally recommended, and observed many things in its favor, but still I offended; I was given to understand by Mr. Woolworth, that he did not wish to have *his* catalogue owe its reception to *my* recommendation. Out of all the catalogues now present, we made a selection of books to the mutual satisfaction of all parties; and by the way, every individual volume of my first catalogue was comprised in this. The books were sent for, and matters seemed to subside into a sullen calm.

CHAP. V.

THINGS remained in this situation for some time without any material alteration. The affairs of Judge Hurl-

but began to grow embarrassed, and he was often in want of money for transacting his small necessary concerns. Under this situation, he proposed to a committee, which we had for the purpose of making additions to the library, the sale of some books out of his private library. The committee, upon his earnest recommendation, purchased a number, among which was the "History of Charles Wentworth." If you have ever read those volumes, you will recollect a deistical treatise in one of them, as severe and ingenious as any extant. I heard soon of this new acquisition, and on the day for drawing books I asked some if they had seen that book; they answered in the negative. I then turned to the part referred to, and shewed them some passages. Aghast, in wild dismay, they started back with horror! Had Afric's grim lion, with his shaggy main erect, and jaws bedaubed with blood, met them full in the way, they would not have manifested greater signs of fear. To see the holy religion of their ancestors vilified thus by a vile caitif, enkindled their eyes with rage, and their cheeks flushed with anger! To see their library, now their common resource for information, thus corrupted by the vilest heresy, and blackest poison, after they had taken such unwearied pains to obtain one, pure as nature's simple fount, or the gurgling rill rolling its lucid streams over the brightest pebbles, was a sight which made every feeling of holy wrath burn with fury against the unknown traitor. They were loud in their clamors to the librarian to know who was the author of this abominable deed. At length, they heard that Judge Hurlbut was the man; he, who but a little time before was so fearful of my corrupting the youth with bad books, that he filled the whole country with uproar, lest I should effect such a purpose; that man, who was the constant companion and fellow-laborer of Mr. Woolworth to keep the library pure from deistical writings!!!

A knowledge of this circumstance flew with the rapidity of lightning among the people. All who had read the book condemned it to the lowest part of perdition, and a meeting of the proprietors was instantly called, to extirpate so monstrous a production from the face of the earth.

When we were once more assembled, Mr. Woolworth opened the business with a lengthy harrangue upon the subject. He labored the point with the utmost exertion, to save his friend from condemnation. He went largely into the merits of the book, and said, "As but a very small part was upon the deistical strain, the other, entertaining narrative, he had no idea of its being attended with fatal consequences, and had it not been for Burroughs, who is ever fond of making mischief, you would not have known that the book contained any thing bad in it; but there is a peculiar strain of malignity in this man, which ever seeks for and embraces all opportunities of creating difficulties among the first and best characters. He has kept this parish in an uproar almost ever since he has resided among us, and if you continue to have your minds disturbed by this man's machinations, you will find the parish soon ruined and broken to pieces."

I now arose in answer to Mr. Woolworth's observations, and said, that "I had now heard some remarks which had surprised me more than any thing else through the whole course of Mr. Woolworth's very extraordinary conduct. It was a justification of Judge Hurlbut in that transaction, which amounted to the whole of what he had accused me, though wrongfully, of intending, and of condemning in me that conduct which he had extolled so much in Judge Hurlbut. But what is the most extraordinary, is the avowed principle upon which he justifies his friend the Judge. He says you would never have known that the book had been a bad one if I had not told you!! He appears to be entirely willing that you should have bad books, to be cheated out of your money, to be wronged, imposed upon and abused, provided there is nobody wicked enough to tell you. Is this a doctrine, gentlemen, which sounds agreeable to your ears, and particularly from your spiritual leader, from your guide and director in the paths of truth? If your ignorance would be an antidote against the poison of such books put into the library by Judge Hurlbut, why not the same reason in my favor? And why will not the epithets of mischief-making fellows, apply as readily to the reverend gentleman and to his friends, for rep-

resenting *my* books in that light, as what it will to me in representing his book in its true light? And much more so when you take into considerasion, that *their* statements are false, and that mine have the full force of fact before your eyes. They have taken the liberty upon bare suspicion, to make loud clamors against my books, or else they *pretended suspicion* as a cloak to cover some other design; be it which way it might, the example is the same; and they have been the leaders in it, therefore out of their own mouths they are condemned.

"It has ever remained with a doubt on my mind, whether Mr. Woolworth and Judge Hurlbut acted honestly in the great fears which they pretended to possess respecting my choice of books; and as it is necessary for you to know whether I do act towards you openly and candidly, I was very glad of the opportunity which presented for you all to see and judge for yourselves. Let my sentiments upon the book be what they are, I suppose it necessary for you to know its contents, and by whose instrumentality it came into our library.

"It has been urged abundantly upon the other side, that I ought not to intermeddle in your concerns, seeing I am in so great measure a stranger among you. You, gentlemen, I expect are the judges with regard to this doctrine, and if it be founded in truth, then you will undoubtedly withdraw from me that confidence which you have heretofore placed in me.

"Whether the Rev. gentleman and his associates refer in their reasoning to any known established law or custom of the country, or to the general nature of the matter, I know not. If the former, I would thank them to point it out; if the latter, I will observe that they themselves are not natives of this place, and what particular period they have fixed for a previous residence before one may be concerned in public matters, I would likewise thank them to describe. For my own part I can see none, especially in matters that are clear and obvious to every common understanding. Why a man should be prohibited from contributing his assistance to the public welfare

because he is a stranger, is a mode of reasoning beyond my reach.

"Finally, gentlemen, the whole course of treatment which I have received from Mr. Woolworth and Judge Hurlbut, from the first commencement of the plan for a library, has been injurious, abusive, unmanly and indecent; yet their conduct on the present occasion oversteps all the former instances, in its glaring wickedness. You, gentlemen, have the book before you, you understand its nature. I wish to have you treat it according to your discretion. I feel no anxiety about it on my own account."

It was then motioned to have some of the obnoxious passages read before the meeting, but this was overruled by Mr. Woolworth, Judge Hurlbut, Capt. Post and Dr. Rose. It was then put to vote, whether the book in dispute should be excluded the library, and the negative was obtained by a large majority. The truth was this: there had been so much said respecting the book, that each individual was anxious to gratify his curiosity by seeing this phenomenon; and each one who had read it, was more afraid for others than for himself, therefore it was determined that the book should remain a member of the library, in order for each one to be gratified by the perusal.

The Sunday following, Mr. Woolworth took up the subject in the pulpit, and labored through the day to convince the people that it was their duty to banish me from their coasts. After the exercises of the public service were over, I addressed the people, and endeavored to confute the ideas brought forward by their clergyman, and to shew the injurious nature of his treatment concerning me, and the unrighteous conduct which he had been guilty of from time to time, and especially his falsehood and duplicity in going contrary to his promise at the time of my meeting his committee for the purpose of a union. Deacon Hedges demanded of me whether I meant to accuse Mr. Woolworth with lying. I answered that I did. The Deacon then answered in a menacing manner, "we will see who lies. It is high time for us to stir if it is come to this, that our minister must be accused of lying."

The next day I saw a large gathering at the house of Dr. Rose, and curiosity led me among them, to learn the occasion of so large a meeting of people without any public day or appointment. Upon entering the house, I perceived Deacon Hedges addressing the people in the following manner: "One Burroughs has come into Bridghampton, and conducted in a very *obstropolous* manner; he has accused our minister with lying, and is a universseller. He is a very bad parson, for he was whipt and cropt and branded in his own country for a rape, and he has acted a great deal worse here than he did there, for he has quarrelled with the minister, and said he lied, and has tried to break up the town. They turned him out of their country, and we must turn him out of our town, for he's a vile fellow, and not fit to live among us, and ought to be kicked out of town long ago."

Mr. Halsey was present, and answered the Deacon in the following manner, (viz.) "Do you expect, Deacon Hedges, that Mr. Burroughs' leaving this town will settle the difficulties prevailing here? If you do, you mistake the point. Mr. Woolworth has been guilty of open and premeditated falsehood, and Mr. Burroughs has brought the accusation justly against him. These are truths to which I am personally knowing, and to which I can bring a number of substantial witnesses; therefore, the scandal will lie upon your minister, notwithstanding all your persecution against Mr. Burroughs; and whilst you are thus endeavoring to injure him, you involve yourself in still greater difficulty, and will have the blot of disgrace more apparent on your minister, than what it would be, had you let this business rested easy as possible." "Dare you, Mr. Halsey," said Deacon Hedges, "take the part of that villain?" "I dare," replied Mr. Halsey, "advocate the cause of injured innocence, wherever I find it, let the power of the oppressor be ever so great." At this Capt. Post made towards Mr. Halsey in a swaggering manner, giving him to understand that he would chastise him for his insolence; but being mistaken in the person whom he undertook to frighten, he tamely shrunk back to his seat.

Judge Hurlbut now proposed the plan of bringing an action of slander against me, for charging Mr. Woolworth with lying, before the Supreme Court, "And there," said he, "we will twist him, unless he will retract what he has said, and confess that he has been the author of all the difficulty in Bridghampton."

I was at this time so profoundly ignorant of law cases, that I did not know to the contrary but what an action would lie in this case; and that a Judge of the Court should be equally ignorant, was a circumstance to me of no small surprise; yet so it was that the *learned* Judge really thought an action of slander would lie against me, for accusing his *minister* with lying.

However, the terror of a law-suit did not produce the desired effect, and the meeting broke up in confusion. The next day the following letter was received by Mr. Woolworth, from Deacon Cook.

Bridghampton, May 28th, 1793.

To Mr. WOOLWORTH.

Sir,

I have thought, ever since we were both on the library committee, that you were unjustly trying to make contention, and if possible, a division among the proprietors; and I am witness that you pushed hard for a division into parties, in sending for the books, for no other reason than because you could not gain the sovereignty of putting in or shutting out such books as you thought fit. I tell you plainly, sir, that your authority, or knowledge in wisdom and grace is not sufficient to rule men's consciences at such a rate. It is evident that because you could not do these things and beat Mr. Burroughs, you are pursuing Haman's plan to hang poor Mordecai.

It is a truth apparent to your hearers, that in preaching and in conversation you envy Mr. Burroughs, and try to get him away; but we defy your rage, and tell you plainly that he has as good a right to stay here as you, or even your friend the *learned* Judge. We know Mr. Burroughs has benefited this people ten times as much as ever you

did. You could not have obtained a library without his assistance. If we may judge by your behavior, were the laws of the land on your side, a persecuting Saul would not go before you. Does this behavior comport with the principles you *pretend* to preach?

I believe, were the case put to trial, there would be as many votes for your leaving this town, as there would be for Burroughs. Look at your congregation. There you may see that things do not wear the face of union, but the people will not tell you these things decidedly; they are not plain and faithful to you.

We cannot but notice how true your zeal has been in carefully guarding against bad books. Look at that abominable blasphemous one which the Judge put into our library! I tell you that until you have taken up these stumbling blocks, you can never be my minister. Such people as you, say and do not.

You may set your heart at rest. Mr. Burroughs is able to maintain by argument or even a regular life, so far as we know him, his own cause, against any accusation which you can bring.

I don't wonder that St. Paul charged Timothy about receiving a *novice*, who is in danger of being puffed up. Pray let you and I think seriously of these things.

J. COOK.

After this letter had been read by Mr. Woolworth, it was at once determined to call in counsel; therefore Judge Hurlbut, Deacon Hedges, and Capt. Post were called upon to weigh and determine upon this important letter. After they had gone largely and *learnedly* into the business, it was voted, nem. con. to be a *libel* against government, and that it ought to be burnt by the common hangman. They further determined, after the most candid investigation of the subject, that no way remained for a settlement of these sore and grievous difficulties, but by expelling me, who was the author of all iniquity, from the coasts; it was therefore determined on the next Sunday to warn a parish meeting for the aforesaid purpose.

The business was again resumed by Mr. W. in the pulpit, where he went largely into the propriety of not suffering such a person as I was to remain in town, and more particularly to teach a school. After the meeting was ended, Deacon Hedges mentioned the parish-meeting to be held on the Thursday following, "for the purpose of clearing Rev. Mr. Woolworth's character from the charge of one Burroughs."

On the day appointed, the parish, together with a number of spectators out of town, were universally convened at the meeting-house. Deacon Hedges opened the meeting with some abusive language against my conduct, and immediately Mr. Woolworth arose and addressed the assembly in a speech of an hour's length, where he exhausted all his powers of abuse, in pouring forth the most vilifying epithets against me, which language could form, apparently intending to bury the idea of his own guilt in the odium cast on me; however, his rage in this attempt was detrimental to his health; it proved a powerful emetic, and this stopped his career.

After he had ended, I arose to reply in answer, but the house, which before was profoundly silent, was now in a state of uproar, from the confused noise of talking, by his partizans, and by repeated orders to me from Deacon Hedges and Judge Hurlbut to be brief. This produced a resentment on the side of my friends, which flung the house into an uproar, which continued for some time; and my utmost endeavors were necessary to prevent a serious engagement between the two parties.

After this was in some measure appeased, Deacon Hedges proceeded to tell all who were for Mr. Woolworth to draw off upon the east end of the meeting-house, where about one third of the congregation retired, and the rest kept their seats. Seeing this did not answer his purpose, he ordered all those who were for Burroughs, to go to the west; at which an equal number went to the other end, and the remainder retired out of the house. After this, those at the east end of the meeting-house proceeded to choose a committee of twelve, to take such measures as they should deem necessary to settle the difficulties and

clear Mr. Woolworth's character. The leading members of this committee were Deacon Hedges, Capt. Post, &c.

The next day at evening, the following paper was handed to me.

"At a meeting of a committee, chosen by the parish of Bridghampton, for the purpose of clearing up the character of Rev. Aaron Woolworth, held at the chamber of Dr. S. H. Rose.

DANIEL HOWELL, Moderator.
HENRY PIERSON, Clerk.

1st. Voted, that it is inconsistent with the safety of the parish of Bridghampton, to have Stephen Burroughs remain an inhabitant in it any longer.

2nd. That if Stephen Burroughs do not remove by the 17th of next month, this committee will take such measures as they shall see fit in order to remove him.

3d. That Stephen Burroughs be served with a copy of these resolves of the committee.

HENRY PIERSON, Clerk.

Bridghampton, May 30th, 1793."

I know, sir, you will smile at this *bull* of the Bridghampton committee, and at their profound erudition in law knowledge, considering they had a Judge for their counsellor in all their proceedings. This peremptory mandate had but little effect on my conduct. But I found my neighbors, and the parents of my scholars were much alarmed at the event. They were afraid the power which the committee assumed, was absolutely in their hands, and that I should be turned out of town by might and main. These matters disturbed my school for some time; reports being frequently circulated by the adverse party, that I was about flinging by all business, and would forthwith move out of town. Yet after a while the inhabitants found that my school would continue steadily, and therefore they sent their children.

The 17th of next month, the time appointed by the committee for my removal, drawing nigh, and no signs of my obedience being manifested, it was thought necessary for Judge Hurlbut to gain further light into the powers of the committee, and what course they must take in order to

effect their purpose. He accordingly applied to Ezra L'-Homedieu, Esq. clerk of the court, and from him received information that the only mean of effecting their purpose was, to expel me by the *poor act*. Big with this information, the learned Judge returned to his constituents and made his report. Daniel Howell, the moderator of said committee, then signed a complaint, directed to Judge Hurlbut and Henry Pierson, Justices of the Peace, alledging that I had no sufficient means for the maintenance of myself and family, and consequently was in danger of being chargeable to the town for a maintenance, and prayed for my removal therefrom. Accordingly an order was granted by these two *Justices* for my apprehension and appearance before them forthwith. The order was executed, and I was brought before them, when they inquired with great magisterial importance, what business I followed for a living, and what means I had for support. After they had gone through with their interrogatories, they withdrew, and in about five minutes returned and informed me, that in their opinion I was liable to become a town charge, and therefore ordered me to remove by the 20th of July, and on failure, declared they should grant their order for my removal.

I was ignorant of the statute of New-York upon this subject, therefore applied to an attorney living in Southhold, about 14 miles distant, for counsel and information. The contents of which were contained in a letter received from him a few days after.

Sir,

Having made a *bona fide* purchase of the value of thirty pounds, you have gained a legal settlement, from which you cannot be legally removed ; therefore, should you be illegally removed, demand and take a copy of the warrant, and give notice to one or more of the overseers in writing that you appeal from said order to the General Sessions of the Peace, to be holden at Southold on the first Tuesday in October next, of which take a copy and be able to prove the service : also give notice in like manner to the signers of said warrant, that unless satisfaction is made you within one month, you shall commence an action

against them for the recovery of the damages you have sustained by your illegal apprehension, confinement and removal; and if satisfaction be not made, I think it advisable to prosecute both the signers and executors of such warrant. I am, &c. DANIEL OSBORN.

July, 17th, 1793.

Upon this information I strained my credit with my friends, and by the addition of my own little savings, raised the thirty pounds, which I immediately appropriated to the purchase of land. Information of this I transmitted to the Justices, and likewise a notification of my appeal from their judgment to the Court of Sessions. However, one thing had almost escaped my memory, viz. the evening following my examination before the Justices, I waited on Judge Hurlbut, with two of my neighbors, men of substantial property, who offered to give any security which should be required, to indemnify the town from any charges on account of me and my family. This was done that the world might be satisfied how consistently these men acted in obedience to the oath of a Justice of the Peace, in trying to remove me under a pretence of fear of my becoming chargeable to the town through poverty. They refused to accept the security.

When the committee were informed of my becoming a freeholder, they appeared much disconcerted, and at a loss what measures next to pursue. Matters rested in silence for some time, and I was apprehensive that, baffled in their measures, they had given up their object in despair; however, they still held their meetings in secret, and to the great entertainment of the curious, a neighboring woman of infamous character frequently met with them. At length I was notified by one of the committee, who came to my house on the business, that Mrs. Aldridge, the name of the woman, had sworn a rape against me before Judge Hurlbut, and that unless I absconded immediately, I should be taken by a warrant, which had already been granted, and was now in the hands of the constable.

My family were very much terrified at this unexpected stroke of infernal conduct. My neighbors flocked in

and advised me immediately to decamp and leave the country, in order to save my life; "for," said they, "Mr. Woolworth and his party will take your life, let the event be what it may."

I thought the better way however, not yet to leave the country, but risk the event. I knew the consequences of taking such a step. The party against me would then be gratified in every wish. They would see me driven away, loaded with the greatest infamy, and themselves possessing every advantage to bury their own wickedness under the odium which they would cast on me, and none could prevent it.

As this was a matter wholly unfounded in truth, I did not believe the abilities of the woman whom they had chosen as the instrument of their wickedness, sufficient to carry the business through, without detection; and Mr. Halsey assured me that he would render me every assistance in his power through the trial. I therefore waited patiently the arrival of the officer, expecting to be carried to jail, to remain until the sitting of the next supreme court of *Nisi Prius*.

This circumstance prevented the continuance of my school. None expected I could attend to any business again until after court. I waited in this situation a number of days without any further movement. I was surprized at not being yet served with the warrant; however, after a time, I heard the warrant was not founded upon the crime of rape, but of an "assault with an *intent* to ravish;" "O!" said I, "You are about endeavoring to bring the Worcester scene again into view; a pattern well suited for such vile purposes!" This being a bailable matter, I gave over the idea of a jail.

Whether the warrant granted in the first place by Judge Hurlbut was for the crime of ravishment, and afterwards he thought it better calculated to answer his purpose, to lay his crime in the warrant on a lower grade, or whether the warrant was the same and the report incorrect, I cannot determine.

The officer not yet making his appearance to serve the warrant, I was determined to go to him, that the difficulty

might terminate, and I be in a condition again to attend to my school. I accordingly went to his house, and desired him to serve his precept, if he had one in his possession. He of consequence made me a prisoner, but added, that as he was then busy, he could not attend to go with me before Judge Hurlbut, and desired that I would meet him there at sunsetting, and give in my bail. I told him that I would comply with his request, but added, "that I felt a little surprized to be treated in such a manner, after being apprehended on a criminal process. That I had been made a prisoner before on such an occasion, but had ever been guarded with the most sedulous attention." Gelston, the officer, replied, "that in common cases he conducted very differently; but under present circumstances, if I made my escape and left the island, he would be answerable for all the difficulty which should arise, and if I was determined to stay, he had no doubt of my meeting him according to agreement.

I expostulated with him upon the wickedness of the conduct to which he had become an abettor. "You Mr. Gelston have bound yourself by oath to execute the functions of your office without partiality, affection or favor. The nature of this office is to preserve the peace, apprehend and secure offenders, &c. and every idea attached to your office is comprised in this general conduct, viz. to guard the innocent from the attacks and injuries of the wicked. This being the general complexion of your duty, are you not prostituting yourself to the vilest of measures, by being instrumental in prosecuting those plans which are so notoriously founded in wrong, as influencing your conduct towards me in such a manner as to throw a temptation in my way to elude the decision of law upon this business, thereby declaring this to be the object of the party whom you serve? Is not the language of the party, to whose service you are devoted, so notorious that you have not mistaken its meaning? viz. that they are not grieved for any law which they apprehend is broken; that they are not desirous for the punishment of an offender; but are anxious to lay hold of any pretence to get rid of a man whose openness they fear, and from whose resolution

they shrink back abashed. What shall we think of a man, who being a Judge of the court and Justice of the Peace, shall conduct in the manner which Judge Hurlbut has done, and that too in such a notorious manner, that not a child in Bridghampton but what would be at once sensible that every purpose would be answered in his mind, should I leave the country; and moreover you would be justified, nay, be applauded for giving me the opportunity, and being instrumental in furthering my escape."

Mr. Gelston barely observed, "that he felt no great inclination to enter into inquiries respecting the *motives* by which those were actuated who granted precepts. He should ever obey them, and leave the consequences to those who granted them."

We parted, and at the time appointed I met Gelston at the house of Judge Hurlbut, in company with Mr. Halsey, who became my security in the sum of one hundred pounds for my appearance at the court of Quarter Sessions. I found Judge Hurlbut determined to recognize me to appear before that court, of which he was Judge, rather than before the court of Nisi Prius, which sat some time sooner, and which always took cognizance of matters of such a nature.*

After matters had progressed to this point, I found my enemies extremely mortified at their terminating so differently from their calculations. I again resumed my school and continued for some time in peace; but the tongue of slander did not cease, the exertions of my enemies for my destruction did not abate; they now saw that the matter must come to trial before a court of Judicature, respecting the crime for which I stood charged; therefore they determined to affect that by prejudice in which they should fail by testimony.

After holding frequent meetings in company with Mrs. Aldridge, the committee resolved that Mr. Woolworth

* It will be well to notice, that no court of inquest was ever held by Judge Hurlbut upon this business when I was present, fearing I suppose to bring the witness before me, lest I should gain some advantage, by her telling those things which would militate against the cause afterwards.

should make a journey to Massachusetts and effect an investigation of the reports there in circulation against me, and bring them forward to Long-Island under such a coloring as to take hold of the minds of people in that place; Mr. Woolworth accordingly sat out on his *ministerial* mission.

When he arrived in the state of Massachusetts, he began his complaints in the bitterest manner, stating that I had come to Bridghampton, and after being used by him in the kindest and most humane manner, I had returned the blackest ingratitude; had made difficulty among his people, and endeavored to effect all the disturbance possible; had endeavored to deceive the people about my former character, &c.

Under this view, he requested a Mr. Storrs, minister of Longmeadow, who was bound to Hanover, to call on Mr. Wheelock, President of Dartmouth College, and after relating to him the enormity of my conduct on Long-Island, request a statement of my character in writing from him. True to his trust, Mr. Storrs called on Mr. Wheelock, and made known his business, without any hesitation, or regard to the feelings of delicacy, notwithstanding my father was present at the time; however, for an excuse for Mr. Storrs, perhaps he had been led into the general error which Mr. Woolworth had spread among his acquaintance, viz. that my father had become my inveterate foe, wishing me in prison rather than at large.

Mr. Wheelock remarked to Mr. Storrs the impropriety of his intermeddling in a contention between Mr. Woolworth and me, and declined doing any thing in the business. Finally, after a painful and laborious pursuit after something to answer his purpose, Mr. Woolworth returned home, with only his own story, which he had inserted in a Springfield paper, in order to give the business a little less the appearance of design, and brought that paper to one Frothingham, printer of Sagg-Harbor, for him to republish in the Long-Island Herald. This curious publication was in the following words:

Springfield, (Massachusetts), June 25th.

"The celebrated Mr. Burroughs, who, some years since was convicted of counterfeiting hard money and passing of it in this town;—of borrowing a certain worthy parson's garments, watch, &c. under pretence of being a clergyman and clad in a manner unsuitable for him to perform the sacred functions of his office, and leaving his benevolent friend in exchange for those articles, this consolatory text, "thou shalt seek me early but find me not," is now on Long-Island, in the state of New-York, taking care of a large school. This villain, after spending a few *agreeable* summers on Castle-Island, in consequence of counterfeiting, committing theft, &c. again sallied forth into the country in order for a change of amusements.

"By his artful insinuations and through the credulity of the inhabitants of the town of Dudley, in the county of Worcester, he procured the charge of a school, a trust of the most delicate nature. Here he had an excellent opportunity of "teaching the young idea how to shoot!" he improved it, and presently after was lodged in the prison at Worcester, tried on three separate indictments for attempts to commit rapes on the bodies of his young female scholars, was convicted and sentenced accordingly. Two thirds of his punishment was inflicted, and a day appointed on which he was to receive the remainder; previous to which he broke jail and made his escape."

How this conduct may appear to you, sir, I cannot tell, but to me it seemed a stretch of wickedness beyond parallel, taking into view the circumstance of Mr. Woolworth's being acquainted with this fact, viz. that the greater part of this advertisement was entirely false, and done with an intention of creating an invincible prejudice in the minds of those, before whom my cause of assault must soon come for trial. Added to this, the cry was raised against me, that I was abandoned by all my former acquaintance, even by my own parents, being despised, rejected and entirely disowned by them. This assertion was made by Mr. Woolworth, in the most positive and categorical terms. In the midst of this uproar and clamor, my father, mother, and wife's father, came to Bridghampton, on a visit—A-

bashed and dismayed, my enemies sunk into silence; my friends, who had heard these dismal reports, now came flocking to my house in order to satisfy themselves in what manner I was treated by my own parents.

About this time the sitting of the Court of Nisi Prius took place, at which presided the Hon. Judge Lansing, Nathaniel Lawrence, Esq. Attorney-General. I attended this court, in order to lay the libellous publication produced by Mr. Woolworth, as above stated, before the Grand Jury, in order for them to prosecute as a breach of the laws of the state. I waited on Mr. Lawrence in the first instance, and laid the matter before him, and received his decided opinion, that the matter was a notorious breach of the law of the state, and ought to be prosecuted. However, immediately after I had left Mr. Lawrence, Judge Hurlbut entered into private conversation with him; and I heard them very earnest in their discourse, but could not distinguish the meaning of their words. The next day Mr. Lawrence sent for me and gave me to understand, "that he should not assist in bringing forward a bill of indictment on the subject of my complaint. That he had been informed by Judge Hurlbut that the matter contained in the publication was true, and that my conduct had been of a similar nature since I had resided on Long-Island; that I was now bound over to Court for a crime of a most enormous and aggravated nature, of which there was not the least hesitating doubt of my being convicted; and that the publication had been brought forward under a real necessity of preventing the ruin of the people of Bridghampton."

I replied to Mr. Lawrence in the following manner. "I feel, sir, myself injured in a very peculiar manner, by the statement made by Judge Hurlbut, and the resolution you have taken on the subject. I have been oppressed by certain characters in Bridghampton, among whom Judge Hurlbut is one, in a very barbarous and cruel manner; no means, however wicked and cruel, have been neglected to effect their purpose; this series of difficulties is too tedious to relate; I have been much reduced in my circumstances by them. I had but a competency before, but now

am reduced to a situation in which I have nothing to spare from the necessities of my family. Had not this been the case, I would not have brought this matter forward in behalf of the state, but would have commenced a suit in my own behalf; notwithstanding, I really flattered myself that the laws of my country would have protected me from injury, even in my state of penury. I am willing to risk the action on the falsehood of facts stated in the publication; and moreover upon the falsehood of the facts stated by Judge Hurlbut respecting my being proved guilty of those enormous crimes which he has related." Mr. Lawrence waved any further conversation upon the subject, and the next day I went, as my only remaining resource, before the grand jury. After considerable conversation on the subject, I was dismissed. The Attorney-General being sent for soon after, I had leave to withdraw my papers. It will be well to note, that one of the Bridghampton committee was on this jury; whether by accident or design, I leave you to judge.

The Solicitor for the county being present at this court, I inquired of him whether other bonds would be necessary, provided a continuance of my cause should be granted at the time of my being called upon by the court of Quarter Sessions; or whether the old bonds were sufficient, until the cause came to trial. I was informed that the old bond was sufficient under such a circumstance, without the necessity of a renewal. The reason of making the inquiry was produced by a witness then being sick whom I depended on, and danger remained of her continuing unable to attend at the time of trial.

The Court of Quarter Sessions was attended but by one attorney as a general thing, the Solicitor for the county excepted, who was likewise clerk of the court. This attorney, whose name was Skinner, I applied to, in order to pre-engage his assistance at the time of trial. He promised to assist me, but I yet gave him no retaining fee.

As the time of the sitting of the Court drew nigh, much noise was made about my absconding, and many frightful reports were made to Mr. Halsey that I should break my bonds and leave the country; however, these machina-

tions proved ineffectual; Mr. Halsey paid no attention to the reports; nay, he carried his confidence so far, as to furnish me with horse, saddle and bridle, in order to ride to the place where the Court was held, being 30 miles distant from my abode; alledging, "that if I was determined to abscond, he would place me in a situation of doing it with facility."

As I feared, the witness upon whom I chiefly depended, was unable to attend, and consequently, I had drawn up the resolution of moving for a continuance of the cause until the next term; but judge, sir, my surprise, when I arrived at court, at finding the attorney, Mr. Skinner, to whom I had spoken for assistance, engaged on the other side, to assist Mr. L'Homedieu the Solicitor; therefore I was left alone, and unsupported by any. The Judges presiding, were J. N. Havens and John Hurlbut.

I was called to the bar and answered to my indictment. I then plead for a continuance. The attornies on the other side made answer that they should bring no objections; and demanded further security by new bonds, or that I should be committed close prisoner until next term. In my answer I observed, that I had endeavored to gain intelligence upon this subject from Mr. L'Homedieu previous to the sitting of court, owing to an apprehension of my being likely to want a continuance, on account of my principal witness at that time being in a state of lingering illness, and received information from him that I should have no need to renew the bonds, in case of a continuance. Depending on this information I came on, unprepared with any security, expecting that I had done every thing which could be required; therefore, the matter rested thus with me, viz. that I must either go to trial without the assistance of witnesses, which I could not do with safety, or else be committed close prisoner to jail until I could send to Bridghampton for bondsmen, which would be attended with difficulties I did not know how to encounter, not only on account of the confinement, but likewise on account of the expense attending the business under such circumstances; under this view of the matter, I prayed the indulgence of the court to let the business rest as it was until next term.

My prayer was not granted, yet I was indulged with a continuance until the next morning to make the best arrangements for my defence. One of Bridghampton committee was present at this court, who came to my lodgings in the evening, and desired a private conference with me. He endeavored to state to my view the dangerous situation I now stood in, observing from what I had seen I might clearly discern that the whole court was against me, and that I should have no chance for an acquittal. "You know, Mr. Burroughs, that the whole of this difficulty has arisen in consequence of your obstinately persisting in continuing in Bridghampton, when the committee had requested you to move away. It has ever been the determination of the committee to remove you by some means, and you see to what the difficulty has already arisen. We do not wish to have you confined in jail, if you will only be wise for yourself. If you stay and stand trial you can't entertain a hope to the contrary, but what a jail will be your portion. You see the leading characters in the court against you. You see that Mr. L'Homedieu has already treated you with open insult, which the court allowed, and has your attorney on his side. You have no witness in your cause, and no chance to get any. You have no person to assist you in managing your trial, and two powerful lawyers against you; besides all this, the court is against you. You have put your great dependence on the integrity of Judge Havens, but you may depend that he is determined not to befriend you, since he sees so many against you. Mr. L'Homedieu has great influence upon his mind, and he will not go contrary to his opinion. If you should leave the country, the business would come to an end without any further difficulty. Your bondsman would never be prosecuted, and the whole business would die away of its own accord. I heard Judge Hurlbut say myself that Mr. Halsey should never be hurt if you left the country. If you should live to get through this difficulty, we shall never leave you until you quit the town of Bridghampton; therefore my advice to you, as a friend, is to leave the country this night, and never more return; if you do not accept this advice, you may depend you are undone forever."

After Mr. Hains, the name of this person, had done speaking, I answered him in the following manner: "You have observed, Mr. Hains, that *friendship* has influenced you to give me the advice which you have just now uttered. Well did the wise man observe, that the "tender mercies of the wicked are cruel." Influenced by your friendship, what a horrid picture has it produced!!! You advise me to abscond and leave the country, under the peculiar circumstances to which your wickedness has reduced me; loaded with the infamy of a crime, of which you know me to be innocent, and to leave my family with those who have not shewn the common sympathy, which we find among savages; moreover, you advise me to forfeit all claims to confidence, by betraying my friend, who has been my security, into your power. You promise me, that no harm shall befal him, in consequence of my elopement. Can I place confidence in the promises of such characters, who have violated all the laws of propriety, integrity, humanity or decency!!! When I take into consideration, Mr. Hains, the character which Mr. Woolworth professes, viz. a minister of that gospel, which teaches meekness, mildness, benevolence and charity; when I view you, Judge Hurlbut, and the rest of the committee as members of the church over which he presides, under the most solemn covenant to govern yourselves according to the laws of benevolence and equity, which are taught by your professed Master; and contrast your conduct with your solemn profession and covenant, it fills my soul with a species of horror too great for utterance!!! Did you believe a Power existed who would eventually punish the wicked, fear would keep you within the bounds of moderation. Either madness and infatuation have taken hold of your heart, or else you disbelieve every article of your mock profession.

"I firstly and formally pursued what appeared to me to be my duty, in relation to the causes of our difficulties in Bridghampton. I have never intentionally swerved from that line of conduct since, neither do I ever intend it. I am sensible that every measure has been taken which malice could dictate, in order to involve me in difficulty

by this prosecution. Mr. Woolworth in the first instance has circulated through the country a libellous publication, calculated to raise an invincible prejudice among the people, who must compose the jury, by whom I shall be tried. You have exerted yourselves to strengthen this by the unceasing tongue of slander and calumny, in hopes of effecting that by prejudice, which you could not by a fair trial. You have likewise very ingeniously manœuvered to bring me to trial without the assistance of evidence or counsel. As for Judge Havens' being influenced by party cabal in this matter, I do not yet fear it. Be the consequences what they may, I shall risk the trial, and abide the consequences."

After Mr. Hains had retired, and I was left alone to a cool reflection upon my present situation, it filled my mind with the keenest anxiety. I saw myself brought into a most disadvantageous situation by the unmanly treatment of the Solicitor against me. I saw myself under a necessity of going into jail, or else going to trial without any witness. I expected that the next day the probability was strong against me of being confined in close jail. Under this view, said I, "what must become of my family? They are already reduced to indigent circumstances by the continued interruption and extraordinary expenses which the difficulties have created. I have vainly flattered myself with considerable help from my friends, in whose cause I embarked in this difficulty. When my business shall cease, the support of my family is cut off, and they are left without resource; left in a barbarous land, the hearts of whose inhabitants are made of more than savage inhumanity."

A view of this business kept my eyes from closing through the night. I tumbled from one side of the bed to the other, in hopes of finding a moment's respite from my perplexity in some easy situation; but alas! I tumbled in vain.

CHAP. VI.

"O! days of pain! while here,
How tasteless! and how terrible when gone!
Gone? they never go; when past they haunt us still;
The spirit walks, of every day deceas'd,
And smiles an angel; or a fury frowns."

EARLY the next morning I again appeared at the bar, in order for trial; the court-house was very crowded. No witness was examined, whose evidence amounted to any thing, on either side, excepting the woman, who was the chief instrument in this business. After she had gone through with her testimony, and the questions had been asked on the other side, I proceeded to cross examine her; but she would not answer any question I put, until Judge Hurlbut had given her a lead to her answers. Upon many questions she was totally silent until she was ordered by Judge Havens to give an answer. After the examination was through, I proceeded to make some observations to the jury, but was continually interrupted by the attornies on the other side, ordering me to keep to the point, until Judge Havens commanded them to desist and let me proceed. After I had ended, the attornies on the other side labored the business with great earnestness to induce the jury to find me guilty. They ended, and Judge Havens commanded the jury to retire and make up their verdict. After an hour's absence, the jury returned their verdict, Not Guilty of the charge, but guilty of an assault only. The verdict, returned in this manner, threw the cost of prosecution on to me, which amounted, together with the fine which the court imposed, to twelve dollars and one half. Not being prepared with the money to pay this sum, Mr. Gelston, the sheriff, advanced the money for me, and I was dismissed.

I left this place about sunsetting, and rode hard until I arrived at my own abode. I found my wife up, and a number of the neighbors at my house, though it was now the latter part of the night, waiting with impatience and solicitude, listening to the sound of every step, to hear if possible how the matter had terminated in relation to my trial,

the news which had already arrived being of the most disagreeable nature. As my horse approached the house, they came out at the sound of his steps to learn who it was, and if it was any one by whom they could gain further intelligence from the River-head, (the place where the court was held) finding the horse was approaching the house, they concluded some messenger was coming with news; they therefore drew back into the house, waiting in fearful suspence, till the event should be announced ! ! !

Whilst they were in this situation, conceive, sir, if possible, their surprise, when I appeared among them. They started, as though doubtful of the evidence of their own eyes. When they heard my voice, they crowded around, to learn the final catastrophe. I had maintained my fortitude unshaken until this moment. All danger being now over, and I returned once more into the bosom of my family, and to the society of my friends and neighbors, brought on those sensations which I cannot describe, but which overpowered my resolution, and became too heavy to support; tears flowed from my eyes in abundance, when I could scarce tell the reason why.

> " ——— Hast thou ever weigh'd a sigh?
> Or studied the philosophy of tears!
> (A science yet unlectur'd in our schools!)
> Hast thou descended deep into the breast,
> And seen their source? If not, descend with me,
> And trace their briny riv'lets to their springs."

My enemies were greatly mortified at the unfortunate termination of all their labors for my ruin. I had struggled with the difficulties until I had overcome them; though at the expense of my domestic provisions. It was now thought that Mr. Woolworth and his party, being so thoroughly baffled in all their endeavors, would yield to necessity, and give over their machinations. However, I soon found him, together with Judge Hurlbut, again intriguing among the parents of my scholars, and endeavoring to detach them from the school. They were successful in some instances, but not in a sufficient degree to answer their purpose. Therefore Judge Hurlbut and Henry Pierson, Justices of the Peace, granted a warrant for the

removal of me, my wife and children, as likely to become poor. My wife and two children were taken and carried from the island to New-London, in the state of Connecticut, and there left. Gelston, the officer who executed the warrant, manifested the most brutish and indelicate conduct towards my wife, during this scene. He came after and transported her in a horse cart to the vessel which was employed to carry her to Connecticut, being a distance of five miles, and insulted her during the passage with the most obscene and abusive raillery. However, when he arrived at New-London, he found the corporation so far from receiving my wife and children, and sending them on from town to town, according to the directions in the warrant, that they informed Gelston that he must find security for all costs the city of New-London might be put to on their account. This at once disappointed the prospects of the party, and my wife and children returned the next day to Bridghampton.

You may possibly wish to know how it happened that, as the warrant commanded Gelston to remove me as well as my family, I was not carried away with them. The reason was this. I found it extremely difficult to support my family, under the embarrassment which I, by this time, found myself; therefore had resolved, if they were determined to carry my family away, that they would soon arrive among their friends, where they would tarry until I should get my affairs somewhat settled, and my business so arranged, as to afford them a comfortable support. That disencumbered from the necessity of their immediate support, I could make myself easy under almost any situation, and accordingly could practice a system of much closer economy, in order to bring my affairs into a better state. Under this view, I had determined to keep out of the way myself, when my family were taken from the island. However, I have since suffered the keenest remorse on the account of letting my family be taken away, by such barbarians, without risking the consequences of being with them.

As the winter was now approaching, I found myself straitened in my necessary stock of provisions, fuel, &c. for the winter consumption. There were some debts I had

due, but particularly one of Dr. Havens, to a considerable amount, on which I depended for the support of my family. I accordingly made application to the Doctor for a settlement, but to no purpose. I endeavored to bring him to a reckoning, that our accounts might be adjusted, being now almost of three years standing; yet my efforts were ineffectual. I stated at large the disagreeable situation of my affairs, and the necessity of the debt for the support of my family. However, I yet obtained nothing more than empty promises.

During the winter I continued my school, which was not large, and by the closest economy, made shift to get thro' with tolerable comfort; but distress now began to stare me in the face. My wife was in hourly expectation of bringing another wretched infant into existence. The provisions which I had laid by in the fall were all consumed. My wages during the winter were all taken up in discharging the debts which my law-suits and other difficulties had brought upon me; nothing now remained excepting the debt of Dr. Havens, which amounted, if I mistake not, to about eight pounds. This debt I had tried to collect, without effect, for six months. I for the last time wrote him word, that I should leave the account in the hands of Esq. Rogers to collect, if he did not forthwith settle the matter. The Doctor had the effrontery to come to my house and tell me, "that I was hated so much in that country, that I could not collect a debt." He offered me five dollars if I would pass receipts. I rejected this offer with that disdain which such an unworthy action merits. Upon this, Dr. Havens left my house, and repaired immediately to Mr. L'Homedieu, for a special warrant for me to be brought before him, for an action of debt; testifying, under oath, that I owed him, and that he was in fear of my absconding, and that thereby he should lose his debt. This oath being necessary to entitle the plaintiff to a special warrant.

I was taken with this warrant, and brought before Esq. L'Homedieu immediately. I plead for an adjournment, alledging that I had material witnesses to cite, and offered security for my appearance; for I could have proved the

offer of five dollars the day before for a settlement. This request was denied; I had the disagreeable necessity of going to trial immediately.

Doctor Havens here exhibited an account against me for attendance, nursing, boarding, washing, lodging, &c. during the term of twenty-one days. His charge for board was three shillings per day, for nursing six, for washing and lodging one and six pence, and for attendance and medicine, ten shillings. You will please to recollect that this account was for services during my sickness of the fever and ague, and remitting fever, which had all been settled; first, by its being done out of kindness, and secondly, my discharging the Doctor's school bill during my teaching on Shelter-Island.

Bridghampton committee attended this court, and made themselves very busy in interfering in the trial. The cause finally went to the jury, who abated much the price which Doctor Havens had put to his items, and yet after all, left a balance against me of 23 shillings. When judgment was given against me, there remained no more fear of the loss of the debt by my absconding. I was left at liberty and retired to my own home, in a state of desperation. I could not view my own family without feeling the frantic rage of grief, more cruel than the sting of death. My all was gone. My only remaining hope forsaken me, and my family in such a situation as to need the solace of comfort. I was in a state of horror through this night, totally indescribable. To add to this scene of wo, Gelston came the next morning with the execution, took our bed and bedding, and sold them at pub'ic vendue, to satisfy the execution, which amounted to four pounds.

This was the winding up of all the scenes of horror through which I have ever passed. I now saw myself sunk under a weight too heavy to endure, without any prospect of recovery. To behold my innocent helpless children hanging about my knees, with fascinating fondness and affection, endeavoring to cheer and dissipate the horrid gloom that overspread our brows, ignorant of the ruin which was hovering around; O, God of mercy! this was a scene too great for mortal strength! I could look death

in the face with composure, but this scene deprived me of manhood. I lost all fortitude under it, and could not withstand the tempest of passion, which entirely overthrew every remaining spire of resolution. I now saw my wife and children thrown upon the charity of a merciless world for support. I was unable any further to contribute to their maintenance. My business was interrupted, my property exhausted, and my health and strength were wasted. A state of universal debility had attended me for more than two years; pulmonary complaints, together with symptoms of universal decay, had increased upon me to such a degree, as to render me incapable of business. Gladly would I have resigned my life, but revolted at the idea of leaving my family without the consolation of one solitary friend to solace them in their distress. O, helpless innocence, said I, to what a state of wretchedness have I reduced you, by making you companions in my wayward fate. Would to God the days of my joyful union with you had been barred by the irreversible laws of nature! Notwithstanding no joy had been so great, no pleasure so exquisite as domestic felicity, yet the pangs of their disappointment, the horrors of their situation overpower every consideration of past enjoyment, and make me loathe its recollection! Which way to turn, or what course to take I could not determine! All was darkness, gloom, night, wretchedness and despair.

As the throw of a desperate gamester, I determined to make application to Mr. Woolworth, Judge Hurlbut, and the committee. "Possibly," said I, "gratified in their desires, their breasts may at last be touched with compassion, and they will commiserate the victim who has fallen a sacrifice at the shrine of their ambition;" but, alas! this application was productive of nothing but the bitterest taunts, irony, and reproaches; added to this, I received the swaggering declamation of Doctor Havens, triumphantly exulting under the idea that he had outwitted me; and effected that, at a single stroke, which all Bridghampton had been in vain pursuing for more than two years.

This had the effect to arouse me from that state of stupid languor and insensibility, under which I had servilely

crouched for some time. I erected my head, and reproached myself for falling under the burdens of misfortunes, which were produced by pursuing the course of rectitude. What, said I, shall honesty and integrity flee ashamed from the face of vice and wickedness? forbid it justice; forbid it fortitude. Shall we only pursue virtue when her paths are strewed with flowers; and the cries of the multitude are in our favor? "Rather," said I, "possess that virtue, under the exercise of which we stand against and overcome whatever difficulties may be thrown in our way."

I now began to arm with resolution, to look about and see what means, could yet be used, and determined to devote what little remaining ability, I yet possessed, to the advantage of my family. I had often received invitations from my quondam friend, Joseph Huntington, Esq. to come to Georgia, and commence business in that country, as affording a much fairer opportunity of making an establishment for my family. My friend Huntington being in the practice of the law with a large run of business on hand, was under peculiar advantages to afford me essential assistance to such an object.

Under all circumstances, I concluded that the only measure I could adopt, would be to accept of this offer, and travel southward as soon as the trying hour of my wife's sickness in childbed was over. Possibly, said I, a change of climate may alleviate my difficulty, or hasten my end. In either case it will bring doubtful circumstances to a certainty, and should I eventually be taken away, the probability will be, that my wife's father will then make provision for his daughter, when no one is left to do it. Should I happily succeed in recovering my health and gaining an interest for the support of my family, it would be infinitely preferable to tarrying in Bridghampton, and suffering a thousand deaths in preventing one. Moreover, by going such a distance, I might illude the disadvantages of a thousand reports, floating upon a thousand babbling tongues, loaded with gall and bitterness. Already has the propensity among mankind to depreciate the merit of others, been carried to such an a-

larming height towards me, that whoever performs an evil deed to me, thinks he is doing "God service."

I made a statement of these views to my wife. Many objections occurred, but after maturely considering the subject, her reason triumphed over her feelings, and she aided me with counsel to strengthen my yet irresolute mind. One great difficulty yet remained, which was hard to remove, viz. how to provide against the expenses of sickness, as we were now in a state wholly destitute. After ruminating some time on this subject, with no small degree of trouble of mind, I at length determined to make a visit to William Hart, Esq. of Norwich-Landing, lay my situation open to his view, and peradventure his heart would be inclined to compassionate my situation; he had ever appeared as a person possessing the milk of human kindness. I was not deceived in my estimate of his feelings. He compassionated my distress; he gave me ten dollars: he moreover wrote to an acquaintance of his in New-York, recommending me to his attention. With this small sum I hastened back to my family, with feelings triumphantly delightful. I found my exertions crowned with success so far as to produce a remedy from the impending evil of being destitute of help in time of sickness. I waited the usual time of expectation, nay, I waited three weeks longer than the natural period in rotation; but the hour of sickness and delivery did not yet arrive. The stock of money which I had laid by for this purpose, was now expended, and no prospect of gaining another supply. To stay longer and starve with my family, I knew was fruitless and in vain. I determined therefore immediately to hasten my departure from this inhospitable clime, and seek support in a distant country. The time I fixed for my leaving this place being now established, the fortitude of my wife began to fail. The prospect was so dreadful before her, and the time uncertain when we should again meet, or whether we should ever again see each other, that she sunk under it. She roared with anguish through the night. The children were terrified at seeing their mamma in such distress. They wept to keep her company, yet little thought of the harm

that was around them. You, sir, are a father! yet you know nothing of these feelings. Distress such as that can only give you a sense of them.

I used my endeavors to administer comfort in this dreadful situation. I called the attention of my wife to the fluctuating scenes of time, that such prospects could not always last; that the darkest times are soon followed by the rising sun; that she lived in a country where they dare not let her starve. Miserable objects of comfort!! While I was endeavoring to administer this consolation (cold consolation) I felt the want of assistance myself. I proceeded till my faculties of sensation were stagnated by the dint of grief. My eyes were set with horror; my teeth gnashed with anguish; my tongue clave to the roof of my mouth, and I could not pronounce a syllable. O! God of mercy! on me alone pour out the full vials of thy wrath. Let me alone sustain the fury of thy decrees, and avert thy vengeance from these who prattle innocence in every lisp of the tongue.* At earliest dawn I tore myself from my family, I hasted on board a vessel, and sailed for New-York.

These are scenes at which nature sickens; yet they are scenes of nature. For the mind, in the cooler moments of reflection, to investigate the secret source from whence originated such cruel sufferings, and apply a remedy to this disorder, is performing a part truly humane. The first emotion, we are apt to feel, under the impulses of misguided passion, towards the author of such calamity, is vengeance; but, alas! vengeance may gratify the impulses of passsion, but cannot correct the evil. Had not the most besotted ignorance bewildered their minds, they could not have conducted as they did. Although some were reputed men of information, yet by making advances in error and cultivating wrong pursuits, they made themselves more the children of darkness, than nature's simple sons. They had become more estranged

* This violent sensation of grief was caused by the exclamation of my little child, who, seeing the distress of his mother, and learning that I was going to leave her, cried, "don't go away dadda, for if you do mamma will die."

to the voice of reason, and shut out from light, by stronger bars of darkness. Wisdom teaches us all to consider each other as children of the same common family, and that our true happiness is promoted *only* by the welfare of all; that there is that connexion between the various members of this family, that no one can suffer without involving, in some measure, the family in the difficulty.

Mr. Woolworth had been educated and habituated in the opinion, that the character and station of a clergyman was great and sacred; as he observed to me on a certain occasion: "A clergyman," said he, "is the ambassador of the Lord Jesus; he is clothed with his authority in that character, and therefore ought to be treated with that respect which such a character claims; therefore any attempt to oppose, or bring a minister into contempt, is committing a crime immediately against God, and ought to be punished as the most destructive of any which could be committed."

These sentiments were disseminated among the people who were leagued against me; and I believe they conscientiously thought it their duty to destroy me by any means, be they what they might. Under this view, it is not to be wondered that extraordinary and violent measures should be adopted. The consequence of such treatment towards me awakened the feelings of passion, and when passion was the leading feature on both sides of the contest, but little reason will be called into exercise. Cool deliberation will give place to the wiles of subtilty, and the disorder will increase rather than abate.

I have many times since lamented my want of patient perseverance, in endeavoring to convince my persecutors of their wrong, by the cool dictates of reason, and in pursuing some measures with too much warmth against them, where, in fact, I found that jealousy had miscolored their transactions to my mind. Error once seen ought to be corrected. The pruning-hook should never be laid aside, then we should live up to the condition of our nature, which requires a state of improving and progressing in knowledge till time shall cease. Had Mr. Woolworth laid aside the idea attached to his preconceived errors,

and given the subject a free discussion; looked into the nature of man, his feelings, and state in society; and considered the nature of that doctrine which he undertook to inculcate, as an ambassador of the Lord Jesus, I know his native good sense would have flung a load of error from his mind, "whose heft would sink a navy." The full evidence of truth would have blazed upon his understanding with irresistible force. He would have remembered the command of his Master, "Love thy neighbor as thyself;" and in this command, he would have seen *that* wisdom and propriety, which will render society perfectly happy, when it becomes perfectly obeyed. But on the concontrary, he had taken his position in error, he had pursued this error without giving himself liberty to examine its merits, until he raised a fortification of darkness around his mind, and consequently excluded the approach of truth. Under circumstances like these, the energy of his mind was perverted to inhuman purposes. He spread wretchedness and desolation around him, and became a partaker in the general calamity.

What a different effect would a contrary line of conduct have produced! By nature he was made for social pleasure and enjoyment; to receive and communicate happiness in the mutual display of a benevolent mind: had he pursued nature, in the matters relating to our unhappy disputes, in the room of producing noxious effects, it would have been attended with the most salutary consequences. This line of conduct would have produced the most feeling evidence upon the minds of his connexions, of the real dictates of wisdom. They would have been mutual helps to each other in making improvements, in this progressive state, upon that establishment. They would individually have contributed their share to have kindled the flame of pleasure, social enjoyment and benevolent satisfaction; and so fast as ignorance was removed, they would have found themselves in a situation of bestowing and receiving the permanent establishment of a lasting happiness.

Ignorance is the great source of evil; and where men pursue a course founded in error, ever so far, in the room of acquiring wisdom, they make further removes from it,

and become more and more strangers to light and knowledge; more and more stifle the voice of nature within them, by shutting the avenues of information; fixing in their vain imaginations their own opinions, as the test of information; saying to investigation, "Hitherto shalt thou come and no further, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed."

A state of prosperity is much more fatal to the growth of wisdom than the bitterest adversity. Under misfortune the mind is called into a state of active exercise. That dependence which mutually subsists between the members of society, is not only seen but felt; and no truths are so well understood as those we feel; the evils of misfortune are known; the operations of the heart and the exercises of the soul in this state of mutual dependence can there be traced. Whereas in the days of lazy prosperity, the objects presenting to the view, are personal gratification, and a listless inattention to the welfare of mankind, owing to the want of a stimulus to call the powers of the mind into exertion upon such subjects as they feelingly find is productive of happiness.

We find in history many striking examples of this truth. At the time of Alexander's mounting the stage of action, and performing his part in the busy scenes of life, he was humane, benevolent and kind, to an extraordinary degree. Prosperity and adulation made him forget that he was a man. His conduct would make the feeling heart wish that the arrogant assertion of not being a mortal, had been true; in order that the character of human nature had not been stained with those scenes of injustice and folly which must leave an indeliable blot upon our escutcheon, which time can never purify. The yet more amazing folly of mankind had fixed the title *Great* upon this inhuman wretch. Had mankind seen with the wisdom of Agesilaus, king of Sparta, they would have blushed at giving such a name to one of the most improper subjects then in being. When the king of Persia was called *great* in the hearing of Agesilaus, he would ask, "how can he be more *great* than others, without he is more *just*?"

Perhaps nature had not ever been more bountiful in furnishing any characters with the talents requisite for communicating happiness to mankind, than appeared in Pompey and Julius Cæsar; however, an uninterrupted course of success, and its constant attendant adulation, called their attention from their true interest, made them ambitious of being more than man, and in the pursuit of the object of this ambition, they sunk infinitely beneath the meanest slave. Even the bloody Nero, when a commoner, was so strongly affected with objects of human calamity, that when it became necessary to sign a death warrant, he lamented his ever learning to write, because thereby he must do a deed so repugnant to his nature.

Nothing in the ordinary course of things has so direct a tendency to pervert the bounties of nature in the human mind as exaltation, prosperity and adulation. Nothing has a more direct effect to learn man wisdom, than often to experience those events which teach him that he is a *man*. From this view of human nature we see the wisdom of those governments, where they have made provision for calling men frequently from office, to mingle again in common society; to feel and experience the weaknesses, dependencies and connexion which exist among each other.

I found the most difficulty in reconciling my feelings towards Doctor Havens, even upon the benevolent system. With him and his family I had maintained one uninterrupted course of friendly offices during my acquaintance with him. In a number of instances, when his misfortunes required my friendly aid, I exerted myself with the greatest ardor in his behalf. One circumstance I will relate. The doctor had a daughter, who being unfortunately in a state of pregnancy, by a young man who utterly refused to marry her, a universal gloom of despondency hung over the family under an apprehension that the matter would become public, and leave a blot upon the family. Under this situation the Doctor entreated me to do something to relieve him from his difficulty. I entered warmly into the business, I visited the young man, I exerted my eloquence in painting the situation of the young wom-

an, together with that of the family. I expostulated with him upon the injurious nature of his conduct, in betraying that weakness which by nature he was created to protect. I spent day after day in this pursuit. After he had utterly refused to comply with any other terms, than to make provision for the child, I still would not give up the point. I saw him and wrote to him with all the powers which I could call into exercise by my tongue and pen. My exertions proving fruitless, the Doctor formed a very extraordinary resolution to obtain revenge upon the young man. He concerted, in company with his daughter, the plan for prosecuting him for a rape; but applying to Mr. L'Homedieu on the business, obtained information, that under *such circumstances*, such a prosecution could not be carried into effect; therefore the Doctor was necessitated to sit down contented under his disappointment.

The source of all the evils arising from the Doctor's conduct, I can now clearly impute to ignorance, both natural and acquired. He was, among men, the most stupid and unfeeling. His capacity admitted the least improvement of any man with whom I was ever acquainted; his prejudices the most rooted and stubborn; and his system of thinking the most singular. He ever considered the perfection of the human character consisted in an ability to subvert an adversary; he ever appeared to think it laudable, and a striking instance of wisdom, to use the most nefarious means to obtain a favorite, if the means and end were immediately connected. His sensorious appetite upon the failings of others had no bounds; but when the tables were turned on his own family, the least obloquy was the greatest crime. The sufferings of others had no place in his mind, but his own trials were objects which called for universal commiseration.

I believe you think by this time, I am drawing the picture of a man consummately *ignorant*; and that a consummate degree of folly was the fruit of this ignorance, and that an equal degree of stupidity will ever keep him consummately ignorant. The picture is the most disagreeable that ever I have met with in human nature, and I do not believe many equals are to be found.

CHAP. VII.

April 23*d*, 1794.

I LEFT Long-Island with those heart-cutting pangs that a person of feeling must experience under my situation, a family behind me, consisting of a wife, and two small children, and my wife in hourly expectation of being put to bed of another, in a state of such poverty as not to have the value of one dollar of provision in the house, and no way to procure any more; and myself again launching out into the world without a single dollar to help me forward, and no business to apply myself to in order to procure me sustenance for one day. I took a passage with a man by the name of Fordham, for New-York, who followed the business of carrying passengers from the east end of Long-Island to New-York. His price for the passage was one dollar, and each passenger to find his own sea stores. I took on board with me a few hard biscuit, hoping the passage would be short, and that I should stand in need of but little provision; but in the room of its being one day, it was lengthened out to seven, by calms and contrary winds, so that by the closest economy, my biscuit were entirely gone by the fourth day; and one of the passengers by the name of Du Val, perceiving my necessitous situation and anxiety in consequence, made me the butt for his ridicule the remainder of the passage, to my no small mortification, for I found the master of the vessel took part in and favored the sport, under an apprehension, as I suspected, that I was not able to pay him for the passage, and moreover was fearful of my making application to him for more provision, since my own was all exhausted. This I bore, because I could not help it, for I knew his suspicion was rightly founded about my own provision, and of consequence he was the only person to whom I could apply for relief, and apply I must, or starve. After much solicitation, I obtained half of a three pound loaf, with which I made out until I arrived at New-York, where I put up at a public house, and called for a supper, having left my trunk on board the vessel for want of a dol-

lar to pay my passage. After I had supped very heartily, as may be supposed, I retired to rest, or rather to bed, to have the more leisure opportunity of reflecting upon my desperate situation, and to fall upon some plan for my future conduct. In this situation I had a chance to take an uninterrupted view of all the difficulties that attended me, and the miseries to which I was reduced; a family left among barbarians, who, under the sanction of religion, would willingly cut their throats, as they had under that sanction already reduced me from easy circumstances, and from a situation in which I could comfortably support my family, to my present condition; my name scandalized in the most infamous manner, by those hell-hounds of despotism, among those who were no way acquainted with me but by those reports; destitute of money, of business and of friends; and all my dependence upon the recommendation of my worthy friend Hart, to a gentleman in New-York by the name of Huntington, as an object deserving charity.

This was the nature of the prospect as it then offered to my view. Under this prospect the burdens of life appeared too great for mortal strength, and gladly would I exchange this life upon the presumption of finding a state of rest in the grave. But to desert a family under such a situation! unprovided with the bare necessaries of life! my soul started back with horror from the contemplation of such an object. After nature had been a long time fatigued with the anguish of these prospects, she at length being exhausted, sunk to rest. Early in the morning I set out with my letter, to deliver the same to Mr. Huntington; and while I was on the way thither, my heart was in a state of palpitating anxiety, for fear that some of the ten thousand accidents which daily happen should interfere with my obtaining assistance from my present and only prospect. But my fears were much abated after delivering the letter, and his telling me to call at 10 o'clock that morning. I returned to the tavern with a cheerful countenance and ate a breakfast with a renewed appetite. I did not fail to call precisely at the hour appointed, and to my inexpressible joy received from Mr. Huntington ten dollars. The

clouds of poverty were dissipated in a moment, and for a few moments I beheld myself sufficiently rich to answer every gratification of my heart; but this delusive vapor soon vanished, for I found, after paying my passage and expenses at the tavern, that my heap of treasure began very apparently to diminish. I had by this time determined to bend my course to Georgia as fast as possible, in compliance with the solicitations of my friend Huntington, who was in those parts in the practice of law. But to perform a journey of a thousand miles with my finances was apparently a difficult task, but to proceed on as far as my money would carry me, was what I thought best, and then perhaps there might offer some prospect of my obtaining business of some nature which would enable me to earn by my industry sufficient to carry me on again. With this resolution I paid my passage to Philadelphia in the stage waggon, and bid farewel to the state of New-York in which I had spent so many pleasing and painful days. I found by this time my health, which never was good in that state, grew better, and after a very agreeable passage, arrived at Philadelphia the next day about five in the afternoon, where I put up at one Wm. Elliot's, at the sign of the cross-keys, whom I found to be an attentive and agreeable publican. My money was here all exhausted, consequently I was under a necessity of trying some measure for another supply. There was a member of Congress in Philadelphia, by the name of Learned, who was partially acquainted with my misfortunes, and of consequence, I expected he would relieve them. I accordingly made application to him, stating my circumstances and views to him in as concise and plain terms as I was able, it being then evening, and he engaged for company (as he said) told me to be at the lobby of the Congress-house, at the time of their going in, and he then would see me again. Accordingly I waited in the lobby at the time appointed, for the space of three hours, with an anxious mind, before he made his appearance. He told me at once, after I saw him, that he had a damn'd expensive family to maintain, and therefore could not afford any assistance to beggars. My feelings any person will more

readily conceive upon this occasion than I can describe. I told him I did not wish him to injure his own family or give to me as a beggar, but to afford me temporary assistance until I could be under a situation to help myself, and if he would do that he should ever find that I possessed a grateful heart; but all my entreaties were in vain, and I was forced to leave him with a heart almost bursting with grief and indignation. I then knew not what to do, or which way to turn for a subsistence, as my situation then was, being a stranger in the city, and no person to recommend me to business, which was absolutely necessary, in order to obtain any.

After pondering a long time upon the gloomy prospects before me, I bethought myself of another person of whom there was a probability of obtaining some help. This was likewise a member of Congress by the name of Niles, from the state of Vermont. This gentleman was an intimate friend of my father, and accordingly I was in expectation of his advancing a small sum of money, and taking a draught upon my father for the same. This man possessed a sincere good heart, and was a man of great metaphysical talents; his economical system had raised him from a small beginning in the world to possess a handsome competency. His education had been such as to prepare him for the clerical function, in which character he had exhibited for a number of years, so that the most striking features in his character were his great fondness for close metaphysical reasoning, and a habit of great economy in his domestic concerns, and had so long practised upon this system, that any variation from it in a person's conduct, or any want of success in a person's undertakings, were in his view perfectly wrong. This was the man to whom I applied for assistance, as my ultimatum. I described my circumstances to him in as clear terms as possible, and afterwards told him of the request I wished to make. Without giving me an answer either in the affirmative or negative, he went on with a lengthy discourse to prove that my system of economy had been wrong, drawing a comparison between *his* prosperity and my adversity, and then pointed out a certain line of conduct that I ought then to take up

and observe, and offered to assist me in prosecuting such; but as his plan had many things in it which I could not reconcile my mind to, and more particularly the length of time which would intervene, before I could provide for my family, I took the liberty of reasoning with him upon the better plan which I had marked out in my own mind. This was touching him in the tender spot, and he told me he was happy in not having the direction of my conduct; that I must do as I chose, but that he had no idea that my father would answer any draught upon him, and therefore could not advance me any money. In as great a proportion as my hopes had been flattered with the expectation of relief, in the same proportion did I feel the keenness of the disappointment, when I was refused the supply which I sought for. I at this moment viewed myself in a state of desperation, and had an inclination of rushing into the streets and commencing war with the whole human race. When I took a view of the world, of the pomp and splendor which surrounded crowds that perpetually passed before my eyes, to see them roll in affluence and luxury, inhabitating lofty houses, with superb equipages, and feasting upon all the delicacies of life; under these affluent circumstances, withholding from me what would never be missed from their abundance; myself destitute of every necessary of life, and looking in vain to those who from their superfluity could spare enough to relieve my distress and feel no diminution in their own property, brought to my mind a train of ideas that were desperate and horrid, and almost reduced me to a state of madness. Under this situation I could not suppress the overflowings of my feelings. My eyes lighted up with indignation, my countenance was fortified with despair, my heart was swolen to that bigness which was almost too large for my breast to contain. Under this situation I arose with a tranquil horror, composedly took my hat, and politely bid Mr. Niles farewel. I believe the desperate emotions of my heart were apparently manifested to his view by my countenance, his apparent immoveable insensibility relaxed, he put his hand in his pocket and handed me three dollars. This act of kindness in a moment melted the ferocious feelings of my

heart, and I burst into tears; all those desperate sensations vanished, and I again found myself a man. With this small sum I determined to leave the city of Philadelphia, and still pursue on towards my destined place of abode. I paid my tavern bill, which I found much smaller than I expected, and afterwards took the Baltimore stage-waggon, and went on as far as a town called Warwick, about half way to Baltimore. Here finding my money again gone, I was under the necessity of stopping at Hogson's tavern, under a pretence of being too unwell to pursue my journey any further. I found at this house a young gentleman by the name of Hawley, who was originally from Connecticut; and having more confidence in him on account of his coming from the same part of the country with myself, I told him my circumstances, and begged him to point out some way for my relief, if possible. I had it in contemplation to obtain, by his assistance, a small school, or an opportunity of tending a store, writing in an office, or something else, by which I could raise a little money; but no such chance offering to his mind, I accepted of a dollar which he gave me, it being all he had, and at the same time manifested a sincere desire to give me further relief, had it been in his power. With the dollar I paid for my lodging and breakfast, and left money sufficient for my trunk to be brought on in the next stage-waggon; this taking again all the money I possessed, I pursued my way on foot without being much burdened with the weight of my cash. I travelled on moderately, and had a leisure opportunity of taking a retrospective view of my life, of the many vicissitudes to which I had been subject from my first commencing an active part upon the great stage of the world. I took a view of the virtuous and vicious among mankind, of rewards and punishments, as they were distributed through the world, and could find no general rule in which rewards were given to virtue and punishments to vice, but that good and ill fortune was promiscuously scattered through the world without any reference to virtue, merit, or vice. I at this moment examined my own heart to see whether I was suffering a punishment due to any evil which I had done; I care-

fully viewed all the transactions of my life, and the motives which actuated me to their performance, and after canvassing the subject maturely, I could not find an accusation that my heart brought against me. That I had done wrong in many instances, through imprudence, the impetuosity of feelings, and a misconception of things, I was perfectly sensible; but that it had uniformly and ever been my desire to render good, rather than evil, and to avoid injuring every person, so far as my judgment would serve, was a truth my whole soul responded to with pleasure. Why then it was, that my fortune through life should be marked with such striking instances of misery, was a mystery to me in the dispensations of events, that I could not reconcile to my feelings of right and wrong. These reflections had so wholly engrossed my mind, that I had almost forgotten my situation, until I was aroused from this reverie by the calls of hunger. I had now walked on till almost night without eating, and began to grow faint and hungry. What to do I did not know. Money I had none, and to ask for victuals like a common beggar, was a mortification I was loth to submit to; yet this was the only alternative to which I could have recourse; and observing a large house near the way side, I was determined to make my first essay in it. I accordingly fortified my mind with all the resolution possible, to go through the operation, and then made my way into the house. I found the inside of the house elegant and well furnished, and a lady sitting in the front room, who appeared to be the mistress of the house; notwithstanding all the resolution I had mustered on this occasion, I had almost failed of making the attempt of asking for victuals, and had determined once in my own mind to leave the house without mentioning any business which brought me there; but finally I made my request known. My countenance, which was always a strong index to my feelings, I believe at this time betrayed my inward sensations. The lady immediately ordered her servants to set the table; while they were laying the cloth, I perceived the curiosity of such a request, coming from a person genteelly dressed, and whose manners were not of that rough nature as those

of common beggars, had raised an anxiety in her mind to know more of my circumstances, and the reason why I was in the situation in which I then appeared. She said, "I presume, sir, you have been unfortunate." I knew the purport of her question, and this question was apparently asked for the purpose of knowing *how* to give relief. To see the immediate promptness with which she sought to relieve me, to see her solicitude to know in what manner she could afford me farther relief than by supplying me with food for the present moment, had divested me of all resolution, had reduced my feelings to a woman's weakness, and it was with difficulty I restrained a shower of tears; so that I was unable to return her any other answer to her question, than "Yes, madam." My feelings had taken such a turn as to divest me of an appetite, which a few minutes before was very great, so that I was unable to make but a sorry meal, from a full table. Her frequent invitations to eat, and anxiety to know if any thing else would suit me better, but added to my present exquisite feelings, and it was with the greatest difficulty, I uttered the monosyllable "No." After I had finished my repast, I arose to depart, when she gave me a warm invitation to tarry until Doctor Maxwell came home, (who I found was her husband) and he would, she said, endeavor to relieve me from my difficulty; but finding I did not incline to tarry, she desired me to stop a moment, and immediately fetched from another room two dollars and half of a French crown, with a desire that I would accept them, adding, she was sorry it was out of her power of doing more, by the Doctor's being absent. This was too much for my resolution to support. The tears, which had for a long time been restrained, now found free vent, in spite of every effort to the contrary. I was unable to speak: I bowed and retired. Never did a wretch in the hour of danger more fervently pray for his own salvation, than I did for the peace and happiness of this ornament of human nature. Yes, thou lovely image of the God of benevolence! may thy gentle bosom never feel the corroding pang of sorrow, but happiness, exquisite happiness, be thy never failing portion.

I travelled until half after nine o'clock at night, and put up at the house of a gentleman by the name of Black, where I was treated with the utmost hospitality and attention. Here I had recovered my appetite so as to eat a very hearty supper, and the next morning I breakfasted as heartily again. Mr. Black gave me a warm invitation to spend the day with him, which I declined, and calling for my bill, he bid me welcome to the whole, telling me he was happy any time in waiting upon gentlemen at his house, and wished me to call whenever I came that way again. I travelled on from thence without any thing further occurring worthy of remark, until I arrived at Chestertown, having money sufficient to pay my expenses thus far. Here again I was reduced to the want of a penny; and knowing I must do something, or give up all further hopes of success, I determined to try my luck among some of the people of eminence in Chestertown, by stating my wants to them, and working upon their philanthropy. I accordingly waited upon Mr. Ferguson, principal of the College in that town, with an account of my circumstances, and to my great satisfaction, he told me he would advance five dollars, if that would be of any service. This gave me an opportunity of taking the stage-waggon again for Baltimore, as my trunk had by this time come on. I accordingly took my leave of this worthy friend to humanity, and set out for Baltimore, where I arrived the same day, and put up at the house of one Stark. Here again I found myself in my common situation, (viz.) destitute of money. I found the way in which I had travelled to be the most expensive way of any; and of course, prudence dictated the plan of trying if possible to obtain money sufficient to carry me through my journey, by water, which would be a much cheaper conveyance. I accordingly applied to several merchants one after another, who had connexions in New-England to advance me twenty-five dollars, and take a draught for the same upon some of my friends there; but my application was fruitless. After shewing that great fondness for knowing all the particulars relating to my situation which is peculiar to New-England characters, they appeared to be satisfied, and calmly told me that it did not com-

port with their view to help me to any money. I had tried such a number of my countrymen and failed of success, that I almost despaired of obtaining any further supplies, and concluded that here my travels must end; yet one more expedient came into my mind. I had found, as will be perceived by the relation already given, that the native inhabitants of Maryland possessed that noble hospitality which was more conspicuous in them than in any of the people of states in which I had been; I therefore concluded to apply for once to some character who was a native inhabitant of Baltimore. I accordingly waited on Luther Martin, Esq. Attorney-General of the state, who immediately, upon knowing my desire, answered with all that godlike nobleness of humanity, which appears greater than royal pomp, that I should have what money I wanted. This threw me into such a delirium of ecstacy, that I hardly knew what I said or did. He counted me out thirty dollars at my request; and when I came to write an obligation for the same, my whole nervous system was in such a tremor, I could not execute the business. Mr. Martin perceived it, and relieved me by doing it himself. He, to add to his hospitality, politely invited me to dine with him that day, it being then early in the morning, which invitation I accepted. I now considered myself in a situation capable of performing the long wished for, the long sought for object of my desires, (viz.) to arrive in Georgia, at the residence of my friend Huntington, where I had no doubt of every necessary assistance, both for present need and future prospects in business. I accordingly applied at the wharves for a vessel bound to Georgia, but found none going short of eight or ten days; this was somewhat of a disappointment, on account of the delay; but supposing I had money sufficient to pay my expenses in town for that length of time, and likewise the passage, I felt tolerably contented. At noon I went and dined with Mr. Martin; but not before I had met with somewhat of a singular accident. Having a little leisure on my hands from the time of making the necessary inquiry for a passage, till noon, I took a stroll through the town, in order to take a view of it, and the public buildings in a particular manner. After view-

ing the market-house, church, &c. I went to view the jail. Whilst I was taking a look at it, there came a gallows looking fellow out of that part of the building, which was occupied as a dwelling-house, and in a very imperious tone, demanded my business. The looks of this fellow plainly demonstrated him to be a candidate for a patient of a public executioner. I answered his demand with this reply, "that my curiosity had led me there to take a view of the building, and if I was not transgressing any rules of the place, still wished to gratify my curiosity." He made me no answer, but went into the house, and soon there came out an elderly looking man, genteelly dressed, and politely desired to know if I wished to see the jail. My answer being in the affirmative, he told me he would give me every assistance in pointing out whatever was worth observation. I gratefully accepted his offer, and we took a turn through the jail and garden adjoining, where we took a seat at his desire. Here he entered into a detail of some of the crimes of the prisoners, and among the rest related the adventures of one Davis, who was then in confinement for theft. I asked what sort of a man Davis was for height, looks, &c. and told him I knew a man by that name in the eastern states, but not of his description, who had left the eastern for the southern states. As the time had now elapsed for my being at Mr. Martin's, I told the person who was giving me these lengthy accounts, that being engaged to dine with a gentleman by particular invitation, I felt myself under a necessity of leaving him; but if he would drink any thing for his trouble it should be at his service. He requested to know with whom I was going to dine. This question I conceived to be a piece of impertinence, but could not yet think it was designed, and therefore told him. Upon this he told me he was well acquainted with Mr. Martin, and that he would not dine for two hours yet to come, and wished me to sit with him yet longer. This request in such a manner, attended with the circumstance of his impertinent question, made me conclude his company would be no longer gratifying, and I accordingly told him I should not stay any longer. I arose from my seat to go

through the house, as that was the only way out of the garden, and he followed me. When I came into the house, and was met by the first person, who accosted me about my business, and he, together with the other, caught hold of me, and told me I must stop. At this time there came four more likewise out of the room adjoining. My indignation at this treatment was aroused, and I told them that whatever their prospects might be about abusing and robbing me, they would find to their cost they had the wrong person in tow, and that should their bankrupt circumstances prevent any remedy by civil process, yet a criminal prosecution should teach them to use strangers with common civility. At this, there appeared another character, who styled himself a magistrate, and inquired into my coming there and asking after Davis. I told him if he wished to know the matter for any valuable purpose, I would tell him; but if he wished to be an instrument in carrying on the farce of rascality which had been begun, I felt no disposition to give him an answer. He protested his innocence as relating to any farce, said that this Davis had been apprehended with strong suspicions of his having accomplices, and that therefore it was ordered by the court, to apprehend any person who should come and inquire after him. I then related the circumstances which brought me there, and why I asked concerning Davis; at this the *magistrate* concluded I might be dismissed. After I had departed, and came to reflect upon the farce which had been acted, the humor of the circumstances, and the perfect propriety with which every character had played his part, it raised a laughable disposition in my mind, and dissipated every feeling of revenge which I had before entertained.

The next morning I thought it necessary to look into the state of expenses which would attend my ten days residence, and accordingly applied for my bill at the tavern, which to my astonishment amounted to three dollars and a half. Finding this to be the case, I concluded it necessary to decamp immediately, while I had any money remaining to carry me away.

Not being able to obtain a water passage, I again betook myself to the stage-waggon, and continued my course to Alexandria in Virginia, without any material occurrence. Here I put up at Wise's tavern, and found that the stage would not travel south from here, for the space of six days, therefore was reduced to the necessity of tarrying that term of time. During this I found my tavern expenses, together with what I had already paid, would swallow up all my money with which I had calculated to reach Georgia. Accordingly I became extremely embarrassed, and began to cast in my mind some way to extricate myself from the difficulty. Matters being thus situated, there came a gentleman into my room, belonging to the back part of Virginia, and offered me a tract of land, containing 25,000 acres. Immediately a thought occurred to my mind, suggested by the impulse of necessity, viz. to get this land into my hands, and with the avails thereof to answer my present necessities, and after a course of time discharge the demand which might occur in consequence of the purchase. I inquired the price at which he held the land. He informed me that he held his land at fourteen pence the acre. Intending to buy so cheap as to be able to sell again upon such terms as to be in a condition to discharge my debt, if such should occur, I replied to this amount, "that being on a journey I did not carry money about me for such an extensive purchase; but if he felt himself willing to take my obligations to become due, one third in three months, one third in six, and one third in nine months, I would take his land at a shilling per acre; and more than that I would not give. After some debate upon the subject, the person (his name is gone from my memory) concluded to embrace my offer, and accordingly writings were made and executed, and I invested with this extensive tract of land upon the credit of my own obligations, none of whom became due short of three months.

CHAP. VIII.

I NOW felt myself in some measure relieved from my state of penury; but my property was in no measure in the situation which was necessary for my present circumstances. Accordingly I began to cast about in my mind some way to appropriate this property, or at least a part of it, to raise the necessary cash for my journey. Whilst I was under these cogitations I was accosted by a Mr. Patten, (if I remember rightly the name) a Scotch gentleman, for the purchase of my land, and he offered, without hesitation, to give me the same price which I had become obligated for, and to pay me cash in hand.

Cash in hand, of all other offers, was what suited me the best, and I immediately closed with his offer. I made and executed the deed directly, and he counted out four thousand one hundred and sixty-six dollars, and two thirds.

At this sudden and surprising reverse of fortune, my mind was in a state which I hardly know how to describe. I saw before me a heap of treasure far beyond what I had ever been the possessor of before, even in my most prosperous days. But a moment before I had been at my wit's ends to know how to raise money sufficient to carry me out of Alexandria. Now I saw myself, in my imagination, in possession of an independent fortune, sufficient to support myself and family with economy through life; my heart was fascinated with the prospect of being able immediately to return and relieve my family. I concluded upon this measure, and bid farewel to Georgia. I immediately applied to the stage-office for a seat to Baltimore, and whilst I was taking my money from my pocket to pay for a seat in the stage-waggon, it suddenly rushed into my mind, for the first time, that all the money which I then possessed would soon become due to the person of whom I bought the land. This thought dashed all my prospects in a moment, and I suffered the infinite mortification of finding all my animating hopes of returning to my family, blasted in a moment.

I withdrew my hand from my pocket, made some excuse for not taking the seat in the stage, and returned to

my lodgings. Here I endeavored to call my thoughts together and adjust my pursuit to my situation. A thought soon occurred of speculating upon my own paper. I therefore repaired to the man of whom I bought the land, and after some preliminary discourse, told him that I would pay him immediately, providing he would make me a handsome allowance. He finally agreed to allow me a discount of one hundred and fifty dollars upon my notes, and I accordingly paid him the money.

Finding myself now in possession of nearly one hundred and fifty dollars, I again began my journey southward. In travelling through Virginia, I uniformly met with that polite attention from the gentlemen of the country, for which they are so remarkable, and which renders their society so extremely pleasing. Nothing of unusual moment occurring whilst I was on my journey through this state, I shall not detain your attention with the relation of common events.

In passing through North-Carolina, I put up for the night at the house of one Smead, on the banks of the Neus river. Being about to depart the next morning, I discovered my trunk broken open, and on examination, found a bundle of fine clothes taken out, and with it one hundred and ten dollars, it being all my money, excepting two or three dollars which I had in my pocket. I tried all measures for the recovery of my money, which offered any prospect of succeeding. The Supreme Court then sitting in Wilmington, I laid the matter before Judges Ash and M'Lay, but found no circumstance of alleviation from any measures which I took. I was again reduced to very deplorable circumstances, and did not know what further to do. My case was generally known. Yet no man offered to assist me in any measure, until a young gentleman, by the name of Huntington, and another by the name of Bowen, (a clergyman) gave me sufficient to discharge my tavern bill at Wilmington, which in the course of twenty hours had amounted to the enormous sum of three pounds ten shillings. The name of this conscientious landlord was Dawsy.

I contracted with the skipper of a coasting sloop to fetch me to Charleston, in South-Carolina, for four dollars, and put my trunk into his hands as a security until I should pay him the money. We arrived soon at Charleston, and being partially acquainted with a Mr. Thayer, merchant, I applied to him, and he humanely assisted me to go on to Georgia.

When I entered this town it was evening, and I looked with eager desire to behold some situation resembling such as my fancy had pictured in my own mind for my friend Huntington's. My soul was attuned to the soft harmony and tender touches of friendship. I had pictured in my mind a thousand tender expressions and pleasing observations, after meeting once again, which would mutually pass between us. Eight years had elapsed since we had seen each other. We both had passed through many unusual and trying scenes during that period. We had both a great store of amusement for each other in the relation of our adventures, more particularly those where the feelings of the heart were deeply interested. And what greater pleasure can exist than granting pleasure to our friend? I now fancied the end of my trying pilgrimage had arrived, and that I should here find a resting place from further trouble. I eagerly inquired of the first man I saw for a direction to the house of Mr. Huntington. I was informed that Mr. Huntington did not live in Washington, that his family had gone to the New-England states, and that he was in South-Carolina, or else gone on to the northward after them.

This information was like the sentence of death. My blood revolved back to my heart in death-like chills, and I saw nothing but destruction staring me full in the face; a total and absolute stranger, not so much as knowing a single character in this state from hearsay; again become destitute of money, and what further to do, or where to go, I was totally at a loss. In the room of making a sudden establishment for my family in this country, I saw no prospect of providing for my own bare necessities.

By this time you will begin to think that I was the sport and plaything of fortune, and that she delighted in

tantalizing me with false hopes in order to see how great was my fortitude to endure disappointment. However, as Esop says in the fable of the frogs, "It might be play to her, but it was death to me."

I put up for the night at the house of our friend Terondet, and ruminated on my situation, and upon my plan of operation for the future. I arose in the morning and began to inquire of my landlord into the nature and situation of the country, and the prospect of obtaining business. I learned in the course of inquiry that the academy in this town was destitute of a Rector, and that General Williamson was Principal of the commissioners superintending the academical affairs. To him I therefore applied, and introduced myself as a person wishing for business, and offered to act in the capacity of Rector of the academy.

The General asked whether I had any credentials by which I could shew my ability as a Rector, so as to ensure his confidence. I answered in the affirmative, and said if he would give me an opportunity I would exhibit them. At this answer the General looked me in the face as though he was waiting for a further explanation, not yet understanding fully the meaning of my reply. I then observed that my credentials were in my head, and that I wanted the opportunity of one fortnight as Rector of the academy to give him the satisfaction which he desired. The General seemed diverted with this reply, but still was desirous for further information upon the subject. I then stated to him in order the situation I was under, and the disappointment I had met with on account of not finding Mr. Huntington, with whom I was particularly acquainted.

This account gave entire satisfaction; and I was placed immediately at the head of the academy, where I have flattered myself I have exhibited the promised credentials.

I began my business under such circumstances as would naturally lead me to strong exertions, in order to appear with some degree of reputation at the head of this academy. I spared no pains to effect such a purpose, and soon brought my school into a state of order sufficient to en-

sure a rapid progress in literary improvement. My prospects for such a purpose were not at first view of the flattering kind. I found the children who frequented my school generally under the care of rich parents, educated without order, system or discipline; accustomed to the most unlimited gratification of their passions and appetites, without any idea of subordination, but on the contrary indulged in the constant exercise of authority over the blacks. Notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, I succeeded in my undertaking beyond my most sanguine expectations. My school increased apace, and fortune for one moment was willing to smile on my endeavors. I received the co-operation of the leading characters of the place in the establishment of my academic discipline, together with the decided approbation of the board of commissioners, who held the funds of the academy, and superintended its general concerns.

In order to give you some general idea of the state of literature, customs and manners through this state, I will describe the several characters who composed the board of commissioners, as a specimen, which will answer for a tolerable description of the people through the state.

General Williamson was their president, a man by nature endowed with strong mental powers, bold, enterprising and ambitious. His education was small, his mind was uncultivated, and his opportunities for information in the circles of refinement were very much circumscribed; notwithstanding, from a very low beginning he made his way merely by the strength of native genius, to opulence and respectability among his countrymen. He had been a famous partizan leader during the revolutionary war, where the contest had been managed between the whigs and tories, much after the manner of the Indians, in whose neighborhood the chief scenes of slaughter and bloodshed were exhibited. From these circumstances the General had imbibed the temper of the natives in many respects. Strong in friendship, even to seek the life of his friend's enemy; implacable in his resentments; patient, persevering and enterprising. Fond of his own family to extravagance, and very desirous to fit them for public ser-

vice and usefulness. His family did not disappoint the warm expectations of their fond parent. His oldest son, Charles, was fast following his father in the career of military fame, and now held the commission of colonel, with much reputation; his second, Micajah, was a major; and his third, Peter, was a practising attorney. His oldest daughter was married to General John Clerk; his second to John Griffin, Esq. an attorney, concerning whom more will soon be said; his third, to Doctor Bird; all these daughters were characters of very amiable manners, who would have done honor to a drawing room, in the politest circles.

John Griffin, Esq. was the second commissioner of this board. He was a man of handsome, though not great abilities. His education had been barely sufficient for his practice at the bar. He was master of but a very partial share of knowledge in the liberal arts and sciences. He was endowed with industry and enterprise; fond of insinuating himself into the affections of people by flattery, for effecting which, he had considerable abilities, and in return he lent a very willing ear to the flatterer. He was hospitable, humane, and benevolent, and very attentive to measures of public benefit. He had begun his career at the lowest state of poverty and obscurity, and by the mere dint of perseverance, had surmounted all obstacles, and raised himself to notice and esteem. Colonel Willis held the third place among the commissioners. He formerly represented the state of Georgia in the federal Congress. He was a man of an amiable heart, of the most friendly and benevolent disposition, but somewhat versatile in his pursuits, and not the most accurate economical calculator. Doctor Rustin was an automaton in this and every other society. Mr. Terondet, a Frenchman by birth, who bore the character of a good honest thriving man, without any other recommendations or disqualifications which were calculated to claim the attention of mankind.

I received an invitation from General Williamson to make my abode with him, having three of his children under my care.

I had not long resided in this town before I began to learn the leading objects of the principal characters inhabiting this state. I found a rage for land speculation, which absorbed the attention of all classes. This in the first instance had been a business conducted upon a fair scale, and attended with vast profit: at that stage it was managed by a few; but at length the business, from which such great profit being derived, becoming known, all were seized with the mania of rushing suddenly into immense wealth, and the most nefarious schemes were put in practice to defraud a credulous world with the idea of becoming interested in the excellent soil of Georgia lands. Corruption had proceeded so far as to produce an open and notorious violation of all the public offices established for the regulation of the sale of ungranted lands. Hence, millions of acres, which never had existence, were sold in the other states, and to foreigners; and millions more were sold many times over by the same person. Such iniquity could not remain long undiscovered; strangers in some measure became acquainted with the frauds of Georgia, and of course the profits of these speculations ceased.

The greatest part of the state of Georgia remained yet uninhabited, and under the Indian claims. This tract of land extended the distance of four hundred and fifty miles west, to the river Mississippi, and contained the most fertile soil in the southern states. A scheme was concerted by a number, who formed themselves into companies for the purpose, to purchase the pre-emption of the state to the greater part of these lands. General Gunn, Senator in the Federal Congress, was the leading character of these companies. This association produced a counter combination among a number of others, at the head of whom was Mr. Few, former member of Congress from this state, and quondam Governor. The purport of this association was to outbid or otherwise gain the purchase of this land to themselves, from the other companies.

At the sitting of the Legislature in Augusta, the town was crowded with characters who were interested in this business. The spirit of the two parties had become warm and animated, and all the arts of intrigue, corruption and

venality were put in practice by both parties to carry their favorite point. Gunn and his associates were ultimately successful, to the great mortification and resentment of the others. This was a signal of alarm which aroused the individual inhabitants of the whole state to take an active part in the contest. The triumphant party were not anxious to carry their animosities to any greater length against their opponents. They had gained the prize, and were willing that the disappointed party should console themselves by bitter invectives and murmurs. Gunn and his party obtained grants from the state to the amount of twenty-two millions of acres of a most fertile and pleasant country.

The exertions of the disappointed party produced an effect, perhaps never before known under any government. They bestirred themselves so effectually as to obtain a very decided majority of members of the legislature at the next election, a year after the grant was made to Gunn and others, and to the astonishment of all mankind, they rescinded the act of the former Legislature, erased it from their records, and declared it to be null and void; notwithstanding the grantees had actually paid the purchase money long before into the state treasury, and had disposed of much of their lands to various characters through the union.

This session of the Legislature assumed judiciary powers, examined witnesses concerning the means of obtaining the grant, and proceeded to declare, that the grantees had obtained their grants by bribery and corruption, and that of course the grants were null and void.

However, to return from this digression, I found my school increase apace, and some of the best geniuses were discovered in this academy that ever fell under my instruction, particularly a daughter of General Williamson, of the age of fifteen. The brilliancy of her wit, the strength of her mind, and the amiable disposition of her heart, were objects of the most pleasing kind.

I will now present you with a course of letters which have passed between me and my friends since I left the state of New-York.

Charlton, Sept. 10, 1794.

To Mr. WILLIAM HALSEY, Bridghampton.

Sir,

According to our arrangements, I embrace the first opportunity of giving you information of my situation, that you may communicate the same to Mr. Burroughs as soon as you can gain intelligence of the place of his residence.

My father has made comfortable provision for me and my children, in a house adjoining to my brother-in-law, who keeps a store of general assortments, to which I have access without restraint, on my father's account.

My friends treat me with attention and pity, without any of that gall of bitterness which is apt to attend on one in dependent circumstances.

Application has been made by Mr. Burroughs' parents to have my oldest child, Edward, live with them. I expect he will set out from here for such a purpose, next week.

My mind is filled with constant anxiety on the account of Mr. Burroughs. I have heard nothing from him since I left Long-Island upon which I can depend. Many reports are prevailing here of the most disagreeable kind, respecting him. Some say he is in the prison of New-York, and some say he is not in prison, but spending his time in rioting and drunkenness, without any attention to me or his family.

Probably it is thought that these reports may gain a standing in my mind, and cause me much pain. But those who suggest them are not so well acquainted with facts as they ought to be, or else they would never harbor or surmise such disagreeable ideas.

You will wonder at my feeling disagreeable when you take into consideration, that our separation was produced by the blackest malice of a few who call themselves the children of God, but to others it appeared that they were the children of the devil, whose ready service they performed.

You may think my expressions uncharitable, possibly; but, sir, consider I am wounded in a tender point, and con-

sider this is a truth which I have felt with the liveliest sensations. To be separated in such a manner from a kind and tender husband; to see him banished from his family, thrown out again into the open world in a state of the most destitute poverty, exposed to difficulties in every shape. May truth be his guide through every scene. These things present to our view this picture of human nature, viz. feeble in itself, liable to so many casualties; tortured with so many pains; visited by so many maladies; crazed with so many cares; worn down by so many sorrows; so dependent on others for succor, relief and consolation: but truth possesses the power to revive, improve and mature the feelings of humanity. The spirit of truth is a spirit of commiseration and charity, therefore let selfishness be done away; let benevolence be cultivated, let truth, pure and undefiled, be maintained, and we need not fear but ministering angels will be found in every clime, who, under the influence of truth, will wipe away tears, assuage pain, and hand the cup of consolation to the broken-hearted. I remain your humbe servant in esteem,

SALLY BURROUGHS.

To the Rev. EDEN BURROUGHS.

Charlton, June 16th, 1794.

Dear Brother,

I received a letter from Sally, by a messenger from Long-Island, dated the 9th inst. by which I understood that the difficulties prevailing at the time of our being there had increased to such a degree as to destroy the prospect of your son's supporting his family in that place, and accordingly he left there about one month since, for Georgia, and does not expect to return to live on the island any more. He had to leave his family destitute of money or provision, and his wife near being confined in child-bed illness. She was under the necessity of applying to the overseers of the poor for relief. She is desirous of returning from the island, as she is uncertain when her husband will be able to assist her, or move her away. I shall go next week to fetch her and children to Charlton. I thought I

probable you might wish to have one of the little boys live with you; for should your son ever get into such circumstances to the southward as to send for his wife, I think it would be imprudent to move the children into that unhealthy climate. I wish you would write to me on the subject. I remain your affectionate brother,

EBENEZER DAVIS.

To Mr. STEPHEN BURROUGHS.

Bridghampton, June 9th, 1794.

Dear Sir,

You will undoubtedly wish to know my situation by the first opportunity, and therefore I shall not neglect this, although it may be, you may never receive this letter, for I do not altogether depend on the certainty of its conveyance. Our youngest child, which is a daughter, was born on the 4th of May, and is well; the rest of the family in usual health, myself excepted, being something out of health through a state of debility. I have heard nothing from our relations in Charlton since you left me. I made application to Esq. Rogers, the overseer of the poor, and he contributed to my relief, but soon the two engines of cruelty, Hurlbut and Pierson, commenced their attacks upon Mr. Elias Halsey, and have demanded security of him for all the costs arising from my maintenance, together with that of the children, on account of his being the first who rented us a house without giving due notice to the overseers of the poor. Mr. Halsey is totally ignorant what measures to take in this business, and the two justices say that they will positively have him carried to jail to-morrow if he don't comply with their demand. The business has come to that crisis that I see no other way but to return to my friends at Charlton, for nothing will answer the demands of the two justices against Mr. Halsey but my removal. It is like death to me to be under the necessity of returning and to be treated as I shall by my relations. I had rather work like a slave for my own and children's support, therefore I beg you would make the time as short as possible before you come or send after

me, and not think of revenging the injuries you have suffered, by that which will bring the calamity on me and the children. My blood runs cold to think what I yet have got to pass through! I cannot rest, by night or day; my trouble almost bereaves me of my senses. My little boys both stand by and ask what mamma cries so much for, and wish daddy would come home. Poor children, they little know the afflictions of their parents. I beg of you not to wait for a state of affluence before you send for me. A state of poverty is much more tolerable, than living without where I am going. Make it your own case, my dear, and often read this that you may not forget, for one day, that you have a wife and children, who long to see you and live with you. My head is in such confusion that I hardly know what I write, but let me once more remind you to make the time as short as possible before you provide me with a home, where we may both live together. Let me entreat you by the ties of love and friendship, by the tender feelings of a parent, to shorten our affliction as much as possible.

I feel great anxiety on account of your health. The climate to which you have bent your course is so unsalutary, and your constitution so broken and worn down with sickness and misfortune, that I tremble for the event.

22d. Since I wrote the above I have heard from my father. He is coming to move me back to Charlton. On Wednesday next he will be here. What a meeting shall we have! God only knows my feelings on this occasion. I wish you would not delay one moment to write after you have received this. I should rest much easier, could I hear from you but one word. I scarce know how to end my letter. There seems to be a kind of melancholy pleasure in writing to you, although it is uncertain whether you ever receive the letter. I am much more out of health than when I began the letter. A universal debility, accompanied with night sweats, attends me constantly. The rest of the family are well, the infant excepted, which is extremely restless and unquiet. I remain, dear sir, your loving and affectionate wife,

SALLY BURROUGHS.

To the Rev. EDEN BURROUGHS.

Sept. 28th, 1794.

Honored and dear Sir,

I have made a number of trials to communicate letters to you, but not receiving any answer, I presume they have failed. This day being in the post-office and looking over the books, I there saw Hanover made a post town, therefore am writing this letter to lodge in the office in this place, expecting it will go to you immediately.

How my leaving the state of New-York for Georgia appears to your view, I cannot even conjecture; but when you come to be informed that the cruel persecution, which I suffered when you was in that state, increased to such a degree as to ruin my circumstances and reduce me to poverty; under this situation you will not wonder at my wishing for a peaceable retreat from such a storm, that I might provide for my family a comfortable subsistence.

During my journey to this country, I met with a variety of incidents as is usual for me, and some of them of a peculiar nature; yet they are now past and gone, and only leave an impression on my mind faint as the dreams of the night. My present situation is easy and agreeable, one circumstance excepted, viz. the separation from my family. I have heard nothing from them since I left Long-Island. I shudder with horror to think of their situation. I beg you to afford them what assistance you can, until I can obtain a situation to grant them relief myself, which I hope will not be long.

Huntington is gone! forever gone! He died in Charleston, South-Corolina, of a putrid fever. I was informed that he resigned himself to his approaching fate, of which he was sensible sometime before his dissolution, with fortitude and calmness. "Death lets down the curtain, and the play is ended."

I saw Mr. Niles in Philadelphia, the particulars of which he has undoubtedly stated to you, long before this. I remain with sentiments of duty, your affectionate son,

STEPHEN BURROUGHS.

To Mr. STEPHEN BURROUGHS.

Hanover, (New-Hampshire,) Dec. 31, 1794.

Dear Child,

A few days ago I received yours, bearing date on the 28th September, which is the only letter that has come to hand since your departure from the northern states.

The care of your family being undoubtedly the object that is uppermost in your mind, I will inform you what I know concerning them, without holding you in suspense by saying any more previous to such information. Your eldest son is at my house, and has resided with me for about three months. He has the privilege of a school, which he constantly attends. He appears to make good proficiency in learning. I find him to be a pleasant and promising child, and should be highly pleased at keeping him with me until he arrives to a state of manhood, if such a thing might comport with your pleasure.

Your spouse now resides with her family in Charlton. Her father, upon hearing of her straitened circumstances on the island, went and moved her, and made comfortable provision for her near by. The last news from thence was, that she and family were well.

It has ever been a matter of speculation and surprise to us, that Divine Providence has opened such a door among strangers, and in such a distant part, for your being useful to mankind and of advantage to yourself. The voice contained in such a providence is, in my view, like the intercession which the dresser of the vineyard made in behalf of the barren fig-tree, "Lord, let it alone this year, till I shall dig about it and dung it."

The bowels of a father, and the piercing affections of a mother do yet constrain us to entreat you to keep this ever in view, that after all the trouble and anguish which you have undergone, and which we have suffered on your account, we may in the decline of our days be comforted with the tidings, that you have learned wisdom and obedience to the calls of your Divine Master, who commands you to give up all for his sake. It is our heart's desire and prayer to God, that in the whole of your pursuits you

daily remember that one thing is needful, and that this is life eternal to know the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he has sent.

I forgot to mention in its proper place, that in due time after you left Long-Island, a daughter was born unto you, who is well. Upon your informing that you saw Mr. Niles in Philadelphia, I felt surprised he had not mentioned it to me at Commencement, which is the only time I have had an interview with him in the interval of his being absent from Congress. In your letters from Georgia, it will be acceptable to have you pay particular attention to an account of every thing noticeable in the country, as soil, climate, productions, and especially the manners of the people, and whether there be any thing that looks like religion among them. It would likewise be highly gratifying to have an account of your own sentiments upon the subject of religion. I am sensible you have been under a temptation to conclude that there is nothing in religion, from the treatment you have received from its professors. You know it has been my established sentiment for these many years, that we ought not to form an estimate of religion from its professors. Let them dishonor this glorious cause ever so much, they cannot diminish the importance of it. We shall one day stand convicted, that if a man should gain the whole world and lose his own soul, it would profit him nothing. We shall wait with much longing desire till we receive another letter from you; mean while we rest your affectionate parents,

E. & A. BURROUGHS.

To the Rev. EDEN BURROUGHS.

Augusta, Feb. 24th, 1795.

Honored and dear Parents,

Yours of the 31st December came safe to hand yesterday, and with the most heartfelt satisfaction I obtained information for the first time, from my unfortunate family. The hard hand of misfortune has compelled me to pass

through difficulties unparalleled in the history of man; yet among all my misfortunes, none so intolerable as the separation from my family, and more especially my separation at such a juncture. God of nature, what a prospect!

When I heard they were comfortable, and settled in an agreeable situation by Mrs. Burrough's father, the weight of a mountain was removed from my mind, and I felt an ardor of gratitude to my father-in-law beyond description, and if I had the riches of India, I would have poured them into his possession. I have left the academy in Washington, and am bound to a town called Frederica, on the island of St. Simons, to do business for a company of merchants in Philadelphia. The prospect in this line is more flattering, as it offers a more immediate establishment for my family.

In obedience to your desire, I should write the particulars relating to things worthy of notice in this country, but as I have kept a journal of all the particulars of my travels, incorporated with remarks upon every subject worthy of notice, which came under my view, I have determined to send you the journal as soon as an opportunity for a conveyance offers. This will give a more extensive view of the subject than is possible to do by letter.

The religion of Georgia consists in every man's doing that which is right in his own eyes. Dissipation and licentiousness reign here triumphant. This is the worst side of the character of the Georgians. They are hospitable, humane and courteous in the extreme. As to my own sentiments of religion, you may find them comprised in the following line from Pope: "An honest man's the noblest work of God;" and this honesty consists in following the law of our own mind, without depending on the dogmas of others. I remain, with sentiments of filial affection, your dutiful son,

S. BURROUGHS.

To the Rev. EDEN BURROUGHS.

Philadelphia, May 23d, 1795.

Honored and dear Parents,

I have been in this city for the space of six weeks. I have not written to you, owing to the daily uncertainty of the time when I should leave here. It is now determined that I shall spend the summer in this place; I therefore hasten to give you what information relating to my prospects and present situation is in my power to communicate. I shall leave here early in the fall for the province of Louisiana. If possible I shall make a visit to my family before my departure; however, it is yet problematical whether I shall be able to effect such a desirable object.

I wish that all the information relating to my family, you would communicate to me in the minutest manner. I have not as yet received any intelligence from them, excepting what is conveyed in your letters. I anxiously wish to see my little boy now with you, but God only knows whether I shall ever be gratified. You may think my foolish fondness on this subject, betokens the exercise of little manly reason; however, I console myself under the indulgence of such feelings, with the instance of like conduct in no less a man than Agesilaus, king of Sparta; being caught one day riding a reed with his children, he desired the man to say nothing on the subject until he had become the father of children himself.

For one moment turn your attention to my present situation. But little more than a year since, I was in this city on my route to Georgia, and under such circumstances as to give the most exquisite pain at taking them into consideration at this time. I have since been at the head of an academy in Georgia with some reputation. I left it to the regret of parents and students. I then entered into business for a company of merchants. This business I performed to their satisfaction, which finally brought me to this city. A new train of events succeeding, I am detained here through the summer, and my course turned to Louisiana. What a scene of fluctuation. My life is, and has been, uniformly irregular. All these things have

taken place by unforeseen events, which no human prudence could prevent.

No man longs more passionately for domestic ease and retirement from the bustle of the world, and no man at present appears to be a greater remove from it; for so long as I have a family unprovided for, I must encounter such objects as offer a prospect for such a purpose, and if I at last prove unsuccessful, I shall have this consolation, that I have done all in my power.

My residence in Louisiana probably will continue a number of years. My first stage will be New-Orleans; from thence I shall endeavor to open a channel of communication. With the most unfeigned desire for your felicity, I remain your dutiful son,

STEPHEN BURROUGHS.

To Mr. STEPHEN BURROUGHS.

Hanover, N. H. June 12th, 1795.

Dear Child,

Yours of the 23d of May is just come to hand; and though an acceptable present, it fills us with concern in relation to your future welfare in life, while it constrains us to view you as a ship tossed on the ocean, with an uncertainty where it will reach the land, or whether it will ever arrive on shore, without being dashed by the surrounding billows, or wrecked on the quicksands. But amidst the pain of our anxiety for you, we are sensible it ever becomes us to leave you to the guidance of the providence of that God, whose kingdom rules over all. If your trust is in him, and your heart is truly waiting on him, you will surely find in the issue, that his name is a strong tower.

In relation to your family, I believe you have reason to make yourself perfectly easy and quiet respecting their situation. So far as I can learn, their circumstances are as easy as may be expected. We received a letter from your spouse about one month since, intimating comforta-

ble tidings in relation to the health and situation of the family.

Your little son appears to be of an uncommonly sprightly mind, and makes good progress in learning. It would, beyond all doubt, be exceedingly gratifying to your family to receive a visit from you this summer; it would be peculiarly so to us. But at the same time we cannot refrain to remind you, that your judgment and not your affections ought to govern you in this respect. We ever wish you to conduct not only with that integrity, but also with that discretion, economy and prudence, as to render yourself worthy of the confidence of any gentlemen who may have occasion to commit any part of their concerns to your trust and management.

You will be mindful to improve opportunities to write to us during your continuance in Philadelphia. It will perhaps be the only channel through which your family can gain information from you. When you shall remove into the Spanish dominions, the greater distance will but increase our desires to receive as frequent information from you as you can attend to communicate. Remember that *one* thing is needful; and receive this as a signal of parental regard from your affectionate parents,

E. and A. BURROUGHS.

To the Rev. EDEN BURROUGHS.

Philadelphia, June 23d, 1795.

Honored and dear Parents,

Yours of the 12th was handed to me this morning, having been in the city some days, owing to a mistake of its having fallen into the hands of one of the same name living in this city. My situation remains yet permanent, and will probably so continue until October, when I shall again be on the wing of fluctuation. Some things of a public nature have transpired, which, if founded in fact, will have an influence upon my future prospects, viz Spain, it is said, has entered into a treaty with France, by which they

have ceded the province of Louisiana to the French. This information I had from Mr. Adet, the new French ambassador. M. La Count, another diplomatic character, declared that the Mississippi would be laid open to the Americans without restrictions. Should this be the case, a great change in the situation which I shall there occupy will necessarily follow, and the danger to which I should have been subject, in a measure be removed.

The shafts of malignity are hurled at me with some degree of rancour, by some of my northern *friends*, who are in this city; yet they have hitherto appeared to prove harmless. How they may operate, is yet in the womb of futurity.

Your letter has produced such an effect upon my nervous system, that I can hardly guide a pen, so strange is the effect on my feelings; and this weakness I find daily increasing. I ever fell a sacrifice to too great a degree of sensibility. To hear my family were comfortable; that my little Edward was doing well; to reflect, at the same time, upon my own situation, absent from my family and dearest connexions, traversing the immeasureable wilds of my destiny, produced a confused chaos of pleasure, intermixed with the keenest pain, and a something more, that is indescribable. Pray excuse my incoherent method of writing. You will undoubtedly ask why I write at this moment? the only answer I have is, that I am more unhappy in any other situation; it serves to calm the boiling passions of a tumultuated mind. I hear my sister is keeping a school; may she never feel those deathlike stings of remorse, arising from the treatment of an ungrateful world, for whom she has spent her time and strength, as has fallen to the lot of her unhappy brother.

The probability is, that Congress will be sooner called together, than the time of their adjournment, owing to a treaty between this country and Great Britain. Should such an event take place, I shall undoubtedly see Mr. Niles, by whom I will transmit a more particular detail of my prospects, &c. by going into the Spanish dominions.

That our times and changes are fixed and unalterable by the everlasting laws of nature, is what I most firmly be-

lieve; and therefore to remain quiet under whatever situation we may find ourselves, is a duty no less apparent. To moralize thus is easy, but to reduce it to practice, is truly difficult, when I find the storm of adversity bursting with impending ruin over my head.

Whether in prosperity or adversity, your welfare lies near my heart, even next to that of my own family. Before I was married, adversity was supportable; but to fill the cup of misery to the brim, that I might drain it to the dregs, I was destined to be connected to a woman worthy of every blessing, and calculated to render me entirely happy; then to be torn from her under the most horrid circumstances of complicated misery; to leave her, together with my darling infants, unprotected in a savage world!!! Adieu.

S. BURROUGHS.

To JOHN GRIFFIN, Esq. Washington, Georgia.

Hanover, May 20th, 1797.

Dear Sir,

I snatch a hasty moment to communicate this one particular, viz. that after tumbling and tumbling, I have tumbled at last into the bosom of my family. I now behold around my fireside, my wife and children, parents and sisters, with pleasure pictured on every countenance. This is a scene at which I tremble when I view it, lest fickle fortune should chance to hear my exultation, from writing long on this subject, and again dash the cup of pleasure, with wormwood and gall. I close, wishing you every degree of happiness.

STEPHEN BURROUGHS.

P. S. The foregoing memoirs were prepared for the press, several years ago. It was expected, as they had lain so long on hand, that the author would have made some additions, before the work was published. But as

none have been received, and as the public are impatient to see the book, the proprietor of the manuscript thinks it ungenerous to keep them any longer in suspense. And as the reader will naturally inquire, "Where is Burroughs now, and what is he about?" it may be proper in this place to answer that question. Mr. Burroughs has been, for two or three years past, managing a farm, and certain mills, in the town of Stanstead, near the lake Memphremagog, within the bounds of Lower Canada. The mills, &c. belong to his father-in-law, a respectable gentleman of Massachusetts. And it is believed he is entirely satisfied with his son-in-law's conduct, in the business. At present, Mr. Burroughs is turning his attention to the study of physic.

The reader is also informed, that the letter in the note, page 44, was written by Judge Havens.

Boston, Jan. 1804.

FINIS.

SEQUEL

TO THE

MEMOIRS

OF

STEPHEN BURROUGHS,

NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

[This Fragment of the preceding Memoirs was not received by the publisher in time to be introduced in its proper place. It comes in between the 4th and 5th line from the bottom of the 122d page of the second volume.]

I found parents and children equally gratified at the general emulation and rapid advances which were made in literature by the members of this academy; and youth from distant parts were sent to this institution, as offering the fairest prospect of education of any in the southern states. Thus were my affairs situated at the expiration of eight months from the time of my commencing my school in this town. My time ran smoothly on; and, had it not been for that coroding anxiety which constantly preyed on my mind, about the welfare of my family, I might have enjoyed pleasure here without interruption; but that single circumstance embittered my days, and rendered my nights sleepless and insupportable. There ever has been a weakness in my resolution and manly fortitude, when brought into collision with this object, which has ever failed me. I could not compose my feelings in any manner, so as to make them tolerable, when the misery of my family was the subject of reflection. Being actuated by these impressions, I accepted an offer which exhibited flattering hopes of realizing more speedily a sufficiency

of money to send for my family to this place. The land speculation (the rage of the day) offered to my imagination the animating prospect of speedy affluence. I therefore engaged in it. It was necessary, in order to carry this purpose into effect, in the first place to submit to a series of hardships and self denial. In the capacity of surveyor I traversed those parts of Georgia which were yet in the possession of the natives. My business carried me through the different nations of the Creek, the Choctaw, and the Chickesaw Indians. When arrived among them, I was astonished to find the state of improvement to which they had arrived, particularly the Creek Indians. They dwelt in buildings of a permanent construction; they cultivated extensive fields of corn and rice; they understood the use of the plough equal to the whites, and could draw from the extraordinary luxuriancy of the soil stores of provisions capable of lasting them many years. They exercised a degree of urbanity, hospitality and benevolence towards all strangers who visited them, which ought to make the civilized part of mankind blush at the comparison. In fact, were it not for the name of civilized people, for the prejudices of education, and for the generally received opinion of Indian barbarity, I should have believed that the native savages of this country had, by some means, found the real state of civil happiness, and were not destitute of those enjoyments which the whites were willing, and did abundantly boast, were in their own exclusive possession. Here the weary traveller found rest and refreshment; the unfortunate found protection, and the poor found a ready and willing supply for his wants. From this circumstance, many blacks fled from their slavery among the whites, and found a secure asylum among the Indians. This, together with many other circumstances, caused the white people of the state of Georgia to make encroachments, and commit depredations upon the Indians of their neighborhood. These were revenged by the death of the whites, without discrimination. From circumstances like these, the relative situation of the two countries towards each other was very unhappy. Much danger attended an intercourse with them at that moment.

Yet, for the sake of acquiring wealth with certainty and dispatch, I ventured on the hazardous task, and finally proved successful, even beyond my most sanguine expectations. I found the Indians extremely jealous of my designs when I first came among them, and had actually concluded, in a council of the nation, to put me to death, under a full belief of my coming among them as a spy, in order to explore their country, and be in a situation to lead the white people among them to destroy their nation. However, this information I did not obtain until all the danger was over. Their jealousy was soon allayed, and from suspicion they proceeded to the contrary extreme of friendship. They rendered me every assistance in completing my survey, and in forwarding all my designs; so that, to the astonishment and gratification of my friends, I returned much sooner, and effected my survey much more accurately, than was at first expected.

This land business was intimately connected with concerns in which Robert Morris, Esq. of Philadelphia, was particularly interested; and, as the whole proceeds of the survey were to go to him before I could receive my part, it was agreed by his agent in Georgia that I should have an establishment on the island of St. Simons, at the mouth of the river Altamaha, where Morris owned a very extensive property, and was calculating to establish business to a great amount. To this place therefore I bent my course, and reached it without delay. Here I viewed my unstable and fluctuating situation coming to an end. The island on which I was to take up my permanent residence was pleasant in the extreme. My business here was to be lucrative and permanent. I had already acquired a property which would be abundantly sufficient to defray the expenses of removing my family to this country, and support them with a decent competency afterwards. Having made arrangements for their removal, I set about preparing accommodations for their reception, by procuring materials and employing workmen to repair and fit up an elegant large brick building for their abode, making every exertion to forward the business, being animated with the grateful expectation of seeing myself soon provided with

a situation to which I could transport my family, and make them happy.

Such was my situation on the island of St. Simons when I received directions from Mr. Morris to repair immediately to Philadelphia, and bring the books with me which related to the concern of the business there. I immediately obeyed this summons, made ready the full description of the business in this place, and hastened to Philadelphia. When I arrived there, I found Mr. Morris, Gen. Nicholson and Mr. Swanwick were closing a concern which had existed for some time between them, and my attendance with the books was necessary for this arrangement. The parties concerned were much pleased with my attention to their business whilst I was at St. Simons, and the accuracy with which I had exhibited my accounts of the concern, considering the short time I had to effect the business. This circumstance opened a new field for my enterprize, by an offer I had from these gentlemen of undertaking a voyage into the western world, in order to establish an extensive fur trade with the different tribes of Indians. Very extensive views were entertained of establishing a trade, by a mercantile company, which should command the attention of the different tribes of Indians to the Gulph of Calaphornia. To superintend this establishment, and to carry it into effect, was a station which I was to occupy, with the prospect of very flattering emoluments. Strange as it may seem, I undertook this difficult, hazardous and tedious business.

For a term of five years I must now be absent, traversing immeasurable wilds and barbarous nations of savages, exposed to the vicissitudes of different climes, different nations, and different resources for the primary aliments of life, shut out from almost any chance to hear from my family and friends during that time. I declare to you, Sir, these considerations many times cast a gloom of despondency on the prospect before me. It is true I had made arrangements to furnish my family with money to answer all their necessities during my absence. Indeed Mr. Morris was so much engaged in having me undertake this business, that he very generously offered to provide

for my family gratuitously during my absence, by removing them to Philadelphia, and providing them with all the necessaries and comforts of life.

I have no doubt but you will be astonished at this calculation of mine. I declare to you, Sir, when I look back and view the circumstance myself, I do not do it without producing a degree of surprize at my own views on that subject. After I had obtained a competency for myself and family, by acquiring so much property as to be able to afford them all the comforts of life at least, if not the luxuries; after experiencing one continued series of the most heartfelt chagrin in consequence of my separation from them; at such a time to enter voluntarily into a contract to exile myself from them for the term of five years, at the least calculation, and perhaps forever, is almost an enigma in nature, and perhaps may indicate to your view a species of mental madness. But, Sir, when I took into consideration that I might raise my family, by this voyage, to such a degree of wealth as to enable them to enjoy all the splendor which attached to riches, in spite of every exertion of my enemies for their destruction, it was an object so fascinating to my imagination that every other consideration fell before it. Thus, Sir, is the history of the human heart exhibited to our view.

Yet all the prospects which I had anticipated finally failed. Mr. Morris, by a concatenation of the most astonishing incidents, became embarrassed, notwithstanding his immense property and unequalled fiscal abilities. Being at the head of the concern which was to carry my western expedition into effect, his failure so far affected the business, that it was laid by for the present moment, and I placed in a state of uncertainty as to my future operations. I spent the summer much in this manner, waiting the turn of times, to determine my own rout. During this time I opened a land-office by the advice of the gentlemen before mentioned, and through their influence, and the unwearied exertions which I made, my business increased beyond any expectations which I ever even indulged a hope for in this department. I negotiated at my

office, business to a great amount for the principal and most respectable merchants in that city.

But at a moment in which I thought myself established here in the most stable manner, and rapidly rising to affluence, my flattering prospects were in a moment blasted. The Honorable ——— ———, from the state of Massachusetts, became acquainted with the circumstance of my residence and business in this city. From the most *benevolent* motives he exhibited my character to the citizens of Philadelphia in the most dismal colors. He exerted himself to draw a picture calculated to please his own fancy, and this picture did not by any means fall short of Milton's fruitful imagination in painting Satan.

At this time I had property in my office to the amount of four hundred thousand dollars. A week had not elapsed before it was all taken from me by the owners, and I was left a solitary spectator of the depredations made by the cruel tongue of slander. I was diverted, however, to hear the various excuses and plausible pretences made by the owners of this property when they called it out of my possession; yet not one had the openness to give me an account of the real motives which actuated his conduct.

Under this situation I formed a resolution to return again to the island of St. Simons, and take my family with me. It was a long time since I had seen them, and the moment I found it possible to revisit them, my heart palpitated with an anxiety totally inexpressible. I collected together all the money I was master of, and hired it to Mr. Morris, at common interest, taking a mortgage upon property in Philadelphia for security, constituting a lawyer by the name of Thomas, my agent, to act for me in this business; receive the quarterly interest of my money, and remit it to me whenever I might need it. I found myself now in possession of thirty thousand dollars, besides a sufficiency to answer my travelling expenses, &c.

You will naturally conclude, that with some degree of eagerness I now hastened my return to my family. The nearer I approached, the more ungovernable was my impatience to overcome the distance, and enjoy once more the grateful scene of giving them every assurance of be-

ing able to meet their wishes, and make them a comfortable provision through life. I had previously learnt that they had left the inhospitable shores of Long-Island, and had returned to Charlton. I therefore bent my course to that town with unabating assiduity. Here I must close the scene. It is absolutely beyond the power of language to describe our meeting, so as to give you the faintest resemblance.

When I had leisure to state all my circumstances, prospects and views to my wife and friends, particularly to my wife's father, I found they had a decided wish that I should now tarry in the northorn, and relinquish entirely the idea of removing my family into the southern states. Their wishes and opinions certainly had a decided influence in forming my calculations. I had every reason to feel the strongest sensations of gratitude towards my wife's father for the benevolent attention which he shewed to my family during the whole time of my absence; and, of course, I considered myself under great obligations to gratify his wishes in my domestic arrangements, so far as in my power. My situation was such, however, as to render it dangerous to abide in Massachusetts. My enemies could take advantage of my peculiar situation in consequence of my leaving Worcester gaol in the manner I did; and I always found *virtuous* people enough in this state to pursue the most bitter course of unrelenting persecutions against me. This kind of *virago virtue* had pervaded all classes and denominations among them, even from the ploughman to the upright judge, to the governor or to the senator in Congress.

Under considerations like these, I determined on a visit to my father, in Hanover, in the state of New-Hampshire, to see what prospects might present themselves in that part of the world, for an establishment. When I came to relate to him the whole situation of my affairs, and my intentions, he manifested much anxiety that I should now, after so many vicissitudes and fluctuating scenes of life, settle down with him, and spend the rest of my days in superintending and managing his concerns, inasmuch as he had advanced far into the vale of life, and I was the only

son he had to perform this filial office. After consulting with my friends in Charlton, I finally determined to comply with the united importunity and wishes of my parents. I according brought my family to Hanover, and enjoyed, for a term of about three years, a degree of happiness with them, and with my parents and their friends, beyond description. Fortune appeared for a time willing to make me amends for her ungenerous conduct, and the fickle and faithless godess promised much more than she performed. She now held out to my fond imagination, the final end of my sufferings, and a total close to all my wandering and fluctuating circumstances.

About this time I received a letter from my agent in Philadelphia, informing me that the power of attorney under which he acted was so circumscribed as to render him unable to transact my business to my advantage, and that it was necessary to execute one which he had sent me, and forward it to him immediately by mail. Having the most absolute confidence in the integrity of my agent, I did not hesitate one moment to comply with his desires, executed the power, and sent it on forthwith. However, this was a fatal stroke to my fortune. By virtue of the power he sold my security in Philadelphia, realized the money, and fled to France.

APPENDIX.

IT may be expected that something further should be said of this extraordinary character, who has been the hero of the preceding Memoirs. Little, however, can be learned of his history in this part of the country, unless he himself should take it into his head to publish a third volume, for which undoubtedly he has abundant materials. Of this, however, there is not much prospect at present.

From sometime previous to the date of his last letter, to the spring of 1799, he appears to have lived with his father at Hanover, in great harmony. He had the chief management of the old gentleman's farm, and other temporal concerns. Towards the latter part of this term, they commenced the building of a large house; and like many others who undertake to build, they did not count the cost, and became embarrassed. This caused uneasiness and mutual crimination, which finally ended in an open rupture and separation. During this period of more than three years, the parents seem to have taken great comfort and satisfaction in their son and his rising family. This satisfaction was expressed by his father in various letters to his friends, as well as by his conduct towards his children. He encouraged and assisted his son in the publication of his Memoirs; and maintained that he had a right to justify himself, as far as he was able, before an impartial public. The Reverend Sire had been a member of the Board of Trustees of Dartmouth College, before the son joined that institution; which office he still holds, with credit to himself and the College. He is a man of great benevolence, piety, and zeal; and does honor to his profession. His mother is equally amiable. As a proof of the good understanding between these families, I take the liberty to publish one of the father's letters, received during this period.

"*Hanover, (N. H.) April* 7, 1798.

"*My Dear Sir,*

"The motive of gratitude, under a sense of your kind attention to my son in the matters which he has committed to your care and trust, as also your expressions and acts of benevolence to him in scenes through which he has passed in former years, has lain with weight upon my mind; and I have often felt the force of it to such a degree, that to suppress its emotions, I have found to be a work of painful self denial. Had I felt a confidence that presenting my thanks in this account could have been regarded by you as any thing of an adequate return, my warmest professions of gratitude would have waited upon you long before this. In your communications to my son received this day, we are both comforted by the leaven of friendship and benevolence, with which your letters are ever tempered. I am, Sir, especially pleased with your remarks upon the book he has published. I am ever sensible that a *true* friend will be always as *severe* in censuring the failings of his friend, as he would be tender of his character. Your readiness for this is a circumstance that establishes my confidence in you, and cloaths you with a character opposite to the deceitful, unmeaning, vile flatterer. Upon attending to certain queries contained in your letter, I am apprehensive that the laws of delicacy, and perhaps your own satisfaction, would require that an answer to them should be stated by me rather than by him. To give you then a history of my son's present situation, I feel myself in no danger of transgressing the bounds of candor and moderation by informing you, that, during the time he has resided with me (which is about two years and a half) he has conducted to my good acceptance. As an evidence of my confidence in him, I have committed to his care the whole management of my temporal affairs; and have hitherto been well satisfied as to the wisdom, propriety and economy of his management; as also with the dutiful and affectionate temper with which he has attended to and treated his parents. I am confident that in this testimony I speak the established sentiments of our

neighborhood and acquaintances as well as my own. I know the benevolence of your heart will constrain you to rejoice with me and on my behalf. I wish, Sir, I might rejoice with that trembling which always becomes a dependant creature. For this purpose, suffer me, my dear Sir, to remind you of a debt we shall ever mutually owe to each other, to ask for that grace which may guard us from every evil, and preserve us in safety to the kingdom of glory. May Mrs. Burroughs' compliments be acceptable to you and your lady, together with those of, Sir, your affectionate friend, and humble servant,

EDEN BURROUGHS."

About a year after the date of this letter, a sense of propriety and duty obliged the disappointed and dejected father to notify this same friend, that he had lost all confidence in his son; and cautioned him against any further recommendation. This, he says, he is "constrained, though with the utmost grief and sorrow of heart, to do, as an act of justice," &c.

The son soon departed for Canada, as before stated. For several years he gave great encouragement to his friends, that he might still be a useful member of society. But, alas! how have their hopes been blasted! Common fame says, that several of his last years have been assiduously employed in counterfeiting bills of the various banks of the United States; that he has been in prison at Montreal and at Quebec. But it is hazardous to state any thing with certainty relative to this extraordinary man. It is not long since, that two of the Cashiers of certain Banks in Boston received each a letter of similar import, signed Stephen Burroughs, stating that he had been a month in that town, engaged with a company of counterfeiters; that several of their own bills had been nicely imitated; but that there was so little *honor* among the concern, he was determined to expose them; and then calls a number of their names, and warns the Banks of their danger. Upon comparing these letters with Burroughs' hand writing, there was no similarity between them!

It is believed that Burroughs resides at present, with his family, at a place called *Shipton*, in Lower Canada.* Whether he still continues to labor in the line of his profession, or whether a late law of the Province has checked him in his mad career, is unknown to the writer. [1811.]

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* A correspondent of the publisher informs, that Mr. Burroughs resides at a place called *Three Rivers*, in Lower Canada, and is at present engaged in teaching a school. [1812.]